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Algeria	5.50 Dhs.	Israel	15.00 NIS	Norway	5.50 Nkr.
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Canada	2.10 Cdn.	Lebanon	1,000 L.	Sri Lanka	200 Rs.
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ESTABLISHED 1887



Morris Draper, right foreground, headed the U.S. delegation at the Lebanese-Israeli talks that were opened on Tuesday in a hotel in the town of Khalde, south of Beirut. Israel's delegation is seated at the table on the left, and Lebanon's is on the right.

Israel, Lebanon Open Talks In Beach Town Near Beirut

PLO, Israelis Held Talks, Kreisky Says

VIENNA — Chancellor Bruno Kreisky said in a radio interview Tuesday that he had arranged direct contacts between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel for an exchange of prisoners of war.

The reported discussions between the two enemies were the closest contacts that have been publicly revealed.

Austria's chancellor, vacationing in Mallorca, Spain, said in the interview that families of Israeli prisoners captured during last summer's invasion of Lebanon had asked him to mediate for their release several weeks ago "with the knowledge of the [Israeli] government."

Mr. Kreisky said the issue was "so delicate that I do not want to say anything more."

Israeli officials declined comment on Mr. Kreisky's remarks, beyond repeating the official government position that "Israel has no direct contact with the PLO and never will."

But an Israeli official, who requested anonymity, said if there were any contacts "it is on a purely humanitarian level and should not be given any political significance."

Meanwhile, in an interview to be published in Wednesday's editions of the Vienna daily Kurier, Uri Avnery, a former Israeli parliamentary member, said a first meeting between a PLO representative, Issam Sartawi, and an unidentified Israeli opposition politician had failed because Mr. Sartawi had turned him down "as sole conversation partner."

But Mr. Avnery, editor of the Israeli weekly Hanan, said Prime Minister Menachem Begin had sent a gentleman of the opposition who did not enjoy enough confidence from the PLO, according to Kurier.

Earlier, Abdullah Fraihi, who heads the PLO offices in Bonn and Vienna, said the PLO had talked with Israeli representatives on a number of issues, including a possible exchange of prisoners.

Mr. Fraihi, reached by telephone in Bonn, told The Associated Press that the Israelis involved in the talks were not members of the government. Mr. Begin has insisted he will not negotiate with the PLO, which he regards as a terrorist organization.

However, the U.S. news magazine Newsweek reported in its latest issue that Mr. Begin assigned an unidentified Israeli politician to meet with PLO officials in Vienna.

Mr. Kreisky's spokesman said the PLO's release of eight Israeli soldiers being held by the PLO and Syria in eastern Lebanon.

"Prisoners of war are involved on both sides," Mr. Kreisky said, "and I was asked for this humanitarian effort and, of course, I made it."

Mr. Kreisky, who is Jewish, has tried before to play a role of mediator in the Middle East conflict. But his sympathetic statements toward the PLO have drawn Israeli opposition.

Asked why he intervened in this case, Mr. Kreisky said during the broadcast that one should comply in a humanitarian request, "above all for the benefit of the families and the people."

Chancellor Kreisky said Yasser Arafat, the PLO chairman, had briefed him extensively on developments in the Middle East when the two met Monday. But he did not say if the prisoner exchange was discussed.



Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria, center, spoke Monday in Spain with Yasser Arafat, right, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and an unidentified PLO member.

Atmosphere Is 'Cordial' in First Session

By William E. Farrell
New York Times Service
KHALDE, Lebanon — Lebanese and Israeli negotiators came to this battered seaside town Tuesday to open talks at which Lebanon hopes to achieve the withdrawal of foreign forces from its soil and Israel hopes to pave the way for a peace treaty with its northern neighbor.

The talks, the result of intensive U.S. efforts during the last three months to get the two sides to sit down together, were held in a seedy hotel called the Lebanon Beach, a relatively unscathed place considering the damage caused to Khalde in fierce summer fighting.

Until Monday, Khalde, about five miles (eight kilometers) south of Beirut, was the site of renewed bloodshed during five days of exchanges between rightist Christian militiamen and leftist Druze fighters. The fighting ended when the Israelis fortified the area on Monday with tanks, heavy equipment and soldiers.

At the end of Tuesday's session, a brief statement was issued saying only that an agenda had been discussed in a "cordial" atmosphere. The next meeting is scheduled for Thursday in the Israeli border town of Qiryat Shmona, a place frequently shelled from southern Lebanon by guerrillas of the Palestine Liberation Organization before the Israeli invasion began on June 6.

The negotiations are expected to be tough and protracted. Hints of the divisions were evident in opening statements made by the chief delegates on Tuesday.

The chief Lebanese negotiator, Antoine Fattal, a jurist, former diplomat and one-time acting director of the Foreign Ministry, praised the U.S. mediation effort and said the United States had agreed "to participate fully in its proceedings."

While the Lebanese have been speaking of the U.S. role as one of "partners" in the talks, the Israeli government of Prime Minister Menachem Begin prefers to call the Americans "observers."

Mr. Fattal also referred to Lebanon's ties with the Arab world when he said: "Lebanon shall not undertake any action which may prejudice the extension of the peace process and security in the region; nor will Lebanon accept to jeopardize by any action the fulfillment of the historical mission it has set for itself within the Arab world."

Lebanon's paramount task, Mr. Fattal said, was to secure the withdrawal of foreign forces and the extension of the government's sovereignty over the entire country.

Mr. Fattal and David Kimche, Israel's chief negotiator, differed in their public comments. Mr. Fattal said an agreement between Lebanon and Israel was the basis of the peace process.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 8)

Russia to Test New Missile, U.S. Sources Say

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Service
WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union is planning to flight-test a new solid-fuel mobile missile, Pentagon sources say. They say that the missile would violate the limitations on new ICBMs in the 1979 strategic arms control treaty, SALT-2.

Preparation for the long-expect launch, including emplacement of mobile launching equipment, has been observed during the past few months at the Soviet missile site near Bilezik, 600 miles (1,000 kilometers) northeast of Moscow, the sources said.

U.S. intelligence sources are unable to determine what the range of the new missile would be, which is crucial to the question of whether it would violate SALT-2. The Soviet Union has been working for more than five years on two new solid-fuel mobile missiles, according to a new book on Soviet strategic forces published this month by the Brookings Institution.

One is a replacement for the intermediate-range SS-20 mobile missile, 333 of which have been deployed in various parts of the Soviet Union over the past five years. This missile would not violate SALT-2.

The other is a follow-on to the intermediate-range SS-16 mobile missile, which has never been made operational and was banned under terms of SALT-2. Its deployment would violate SALT-2 provisions, according to Pentagon sources.

The 1979 agreement has not been ratified by the United States, but both Moscow and Washington have said they would abide by its provisions, one of which limited each side to one new intermediate-range missile.

On Oct. 26, the Soviet Union tested a large solid-fuel missile, and Anatoli F. Dobrynin, the Soviet ambassador in Washington, informed the State Department that it was to be his country's one new ICBM that was allowed by SALT-2. Thus, testing of the second new missile, the proposed intermediate-range follow-on to the SS-16, would be a violation of SALT-2, according to Pentagon sources.

U.S. sources said the missile tested in October was the same size as the current SS-19, a long-range intercontinental missile that is larger than any U.S. missile, including the proposed MX. The new Soviet rocket was powered by solid fuel, rather than liquid fuel as are all other solid-fuel Soviet ICBMs. The new missile failed after the first of three stages ignited.

By moving to solid fuels, the Russians will be able to have more missiles on alert and be quicker to respond to a launch command. All U.S. Minuteman missiles are solid fueled, and the 51 remaining old Titan-2 missiles, which are being retired, are liquid fueled.

A non-governmental specialist in nuclear weaponry said Monday that Soviet testing of a new mobile missile could be "an ominous sign" that marks the beginning of a "new round of arms escalation."

He speculated that the new mobile missile could have a varied range much like the present Soviet SS-11, which is counted under SALT-2 as an ICBM aimed at targets in the United States. Originally, however, SS-11s were aimed at intermediate-range targets in Western Europe.

If the Russians described the new mobile missile as an intermediate-range missile, it would not be a violation of the treaty.

It also could be described as a modification of the SS-16, which Pentagon officials argue would be a violation of SALT-2. Modifications of existing missiles are permitted by the treaty as long as they do not vary by more than 5 percent in size and throw-weight from the existing missile.

Pentagon sources said, however, that the Russians cannot modify the SS-16 since it was tested but not deployed. Thus, one Defense Department official recently argued, a new Soviet mobile ICBM would be an entirely new missile under terms of the treaty.

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Janos Kadar

INSIDE

■ The Reagan administration plans to send a high-ranking official to Bucharest next month to warn Romania that it faces a major setback in its U.S. ties.

■ The U.S. Interior Department announced that it will drop hundreds of thousands of acres as possible federal wilderness areas.

Andropov's Hungarian Connection

'Quality of His Mind' Left an Impression in Budapest

By R.W. Apple Jr.
New York Times Service
LONDON — In a number of the fortunes of Yuri V. Andropov have been linked to those of Hungary. Mr. Andropov served as Russian Ambassador in Budapest from 1954 to 1957, initially as

second-rank official, then as ambassador.

Those were troubled times, and by 1957, by the uprising in Hungary and by the installation of Kadar as head of the Hungarian Communist Party.

It was the years that followed, Kadar began evolving his policy of economic decentralization and Mr. Andropov, by then in Moscow, was largely responsible for allowing him to do it in his position overseeing the Communist Party's dealings with Eastern Europe.

Andropov's tenure in Hungary has been a special one. And it offers the West a chance to learn something about the man. The Hungarians know him well, and they are willing to talk. People in the Soviet Union have usually found it prudent to say nothing, or to leave a press-ranged line, in discussing the country's leaders.

On Nov. 1, 1956, with the streets of Budapest blackened from battle, with Soviet forces pouring into the country despite their agreed withdrawal from the capital, Imre Nagy, the leader of the government, who sought to bring about change, found himself under pressure from all sides. He called Mr. Andropov to his office and denounced the troop movements.

The Soviet ambassador said he knew nothing of this but promised to find out. Some time later he gave his word that the influx of Soviet troops would be halted.

But it was not. By 2 P.M. the Nagy cabinet had made the fateful decision to pull out of the Warsaw Pact, and by 5 P.M. Mr. Nagy was reading a declaration of neutrality to Mr. Andropov.

The next day, the new commander of the national guard, General Bela Kiraly, was sent to the Soviet Embassy to look into the ambassador's complaints that Hungarians were sacking it. Mr. Kiraly, who now teaches at Brooklyn College, remembers that Mr. Andropov assured him, "Believe me, general, the Soviet people are Hungary's best friends." He offered immediate negotiations to discuss a new withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

"Here was this man Andropov who clearly understood what was going on," Mr. Kiraly said bitterly, "yet he pretended until the last moment to me and to the prime minister and to others that everything was business as usual. Even parties, before they attack another party, hoist a black flag. He was absolutely calculating."

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According to several Hungarian sources, Mr. Andropov had already begun to make his plans for the country's future. On Nov. 1, Mr. Kadar, first secretary of the party, and Ferenc Munich, the minister of the interior in the Nagy government, stopped at the Soviet Embassy and talked for some time.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

American Link to British 'Mole' Tells His Story

By David Binder New York Times Service

LONDON — By his own account, a Whitney Straight always wanted to be a political knight-errant. Certain means to do so: inherited money, education and friends in high places in the United States and abroad.

20 months ago, Mr. Straight was depicted as a one-time Communist Party turned informer who became a turncoat that cracked open top-level espionage in Britain.

Now, following the consequences of his role in the quietude of his suburban home in a memoir, "After Long Silence," which is actually an autobiography, he published in the spring.

The memoir is a life divided between the public and the very clandestine life he has lately subjected him to in the press, especially in Britain.

As related in the book manuscript, Mr. Straight was in an interview, he was a Communist at Trinity College, where he was invited in 1937 by Arthur Blunt, then a young don, to become an agent in the United States. Mr. Straight did not say no, although he declined the Soviet assignment to enter a Wall Street investment firm.

Instead he came to Washington, where, from 1938 to 1942, he periodically met a Soviet agent he knew only as Michael Green. Mr. Straight was desultorily employed in those years at the State Department, Interior Department and as a speechwriter for President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

He had no access to classified documents, but he did provide Mr. Green with his own analyses of political and economic developments.

The meetings with Mr. Green seem in retrospect to have been relatively harmless. However, when he was offered a post in the Kennedy administration, Mr. Straight, haunted for 26 years by his compact with Mr. Blunt, confessed to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The FBI was not much interested in his contacts with Michael Green. What caught the attention of the bureau's counterintelligence chief was Mr. Straight's account of how he had come to be a Communist at Cambridge, his recruitment and his acquaintance with Guy Burgess, a Communist mole in the British Foreign Service who escaped to Moscow in 1953. Anthony Blunt, after all, had held a senior British intelligence post in World War II.

After interrogation in London, the British told Mr. Straight that his story was the first substantive evidence of the treachery of Mr. Blunt, who was by this time a member of the royal household. Mr. Blunt confessed.

Mr. Straight's revelation also led to the implication of other Soviet moles in Britain: Leo Log, another Cambridge Communist who made his way into the intelligence service, and Guy Burgess, already long gone. It is a tale that makes John Le Carré's oeuvre of treachery look more like fact than fiction.

Mr. Straight, now 66, remembers his days of commitment to communism as anything but a matter of dreary discipline or strict cadre work. Rather it was more like an extended college bull session, the Communist cell convening openly in his rooms at Trinity.

Of his green party card he says: "I threw mine away. I thought it was stupid."

A later problem was how to screw up the courage after the war to admit what he had been and done.

"I knew by 1946 what I had to do, but the only question was what I was going to do about it," he said, sipping tea. "I started to go to the British," he said of a moment in the Korean War after he suddenly encountered Guy Burgess in Washington and realized he was spying for the Russians under the cover of a British Embassy post.

"I started to go to the CIA," he added. "It was like standing three feet away from a fire in which somebody is burning."

He went to lunch with his first cousin, Tracy Barnes, who was deputy director of the agency. "Please ask me questions about Cambridge," he recalls saying. "It doesn't interest me."

As Mr. Straight writes: "I needed one beckoning word or gesture to lead me on. Without it, I lacked the resolution to carry out my impulse."

So it was not until 1963, when he was offered a post as an adviser on the arts and humanities in the Kennedy administration, that Mr. Straight felt a sufficient gesture was at hand. Sensing that if he took the job his past might be exposed, he told his story to Arthur Schlesinger Jr. at the White House, then went to the FBI.

He thinks he still bears the stigma of "an informer," he says, but he heartily rejects suggestions that he was a "traitor," "spy" or "Soviet agent."

Much of his book is set in Washington, as Mr. Straight moved from his awkward restaurant meetings with Mr. Green to White House dinners with the Roosevelts and the easy company of the young New Dealers, then, in the late 1940's as the editor of The New Republic, to the wretched days of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

His boast is that, after shedding his Communist affiliations, "I remained a political liberal."

Having published several novels and a play, Mr. Straight says that "After Long Silence" is mainly an effort "to explain myself to my children and grandchildren."

A Polish Legislator Says Debt to West Will Increase by \$3 Billion Next Year

United Press International
WARSAW — Poland's debt to the West will grow by \$3 billion next year despite reduced imports and increased exports, a member of Poland's parliament said Tuesday.

"We envisage a surplus of export over import with capitalist countries of about \$700 million," the deputy, Jan Kaminski, said while presenting a draft plan for economic recovery to the Sejm, or parliament.

"Despite this, the debt will increase by some \$3 billion," he said. "It is the result of unpaid credit installments and interest."

In another development Tuesday, Polish news organizations assailed Lech Walesa, the leader of the banned Solidarity union, for an interview they said he gave a West German magazine.

The reports repeated accusations that leaders of the union had been in contact with members of Italy's Red Brigades left group. A spokesman for Mr. Walesa denied both charges.

To the Sejm, Mr. Kaminski expressed little optimism about the Polish economy, which officials in

recent weeks have said has "seized a bridgehead" toward recovery.

"The diagnosis of the state of the economy is generally known," he said. "There is economic imbalance, a high debt, low production level, insufficient budget, growing inflation."

He also expressed doubts about measures to improve the economy, saying "there are many unknown factors" that could alter "the plans that have been coordinated and worked out for economic reconstruction."

The economic plan for next year envisages an increase in the national income for the first time in four years, as well as a 4-percent growth in overall production.

The plan forecasts an increase in food industry production by 1.5 to 2.4 percent, but animal production is expected to drop. Lack of fodder has caused concern for the meat industry, although the present ration quota of 1.5 kilograms (5.5 pounds) a month is expected to be maintained.

The two-day session is the final scheduled meeting of the Sejm before a partial suspension of martial law takes effect Friday.

At its last session on Dec. 18,

the Sejm adopted two laws — one of them suspending martial law but giving the authorities the right to reinstate it immediately if necessary and the other outlining special government powers during an indefinite transition period to full civilian rule.

In a denunciation of Mr. Walesa, the army newspaper *Zolnierz Wolnosci* quoted a commentary by PAP, the official press agency. The PAP report condemned Mr. Walesa for an interview he reportedly gave to the West German magazine *Bunte*. A spokesman denied that Mr. Walesa gave such an interview.

"We highly value the Germans, especially because they help us particularly much," the press agency quoted Mr. Walesa as saying. "They extend to us the largest assistance. Tell your fellow countrymen that we, the Poles, will not forget it."

"The Poles and the Germans know what suffering means," it quoted him as saying. "We, the Poles, at least constitute one nation in our suffering. On the other hand you, the Germans, are divided and this is terrible."

The PAP commentary said Mr.

Walesa was "highly irresponsible" for commenting on the German issue.

"Walesa most apparently is not aware that he puts at the memory of millions of victims of Nazi bestiality by putting the sufferings of the Poles and Germans on a par," it added.

The Nazis occupied and devastated Poland during World War II, killing more than six million Poles, and Polish-German relations still are a touchy subject.

The Walesa spokesman, reached by telephone at Mr. Walesa's home in Gdansk, denied that the union leader had given such an interview or made such a statement. "I must say for sure that such an interview did not take place," he said, after consulting Mr. Walesa.

Mr. Walesa's priest, the Reverend Henryk Jankowski, also denied that Mr. Walesa had given an interview to *Bunte*.

The magazine sent photographs of Walesa and the Christmas tree, Father Jankowski said. "But there was no interview."

Meanwhile, Trybuna Ludu, the official Communist Party newspaper, revived allegations Tuesday that Solidarity had links with the Red Brigades through Luigi and Paola Scricciolo, two Italian labor activists who visited Poland last year and who have been arrested and accused of links with the Red Brigades. Such accusations have been made several times in the Polish press.

Mr. Walesa's spokesman also denied that he had had any contacts with the Red Brigades.

"He would not even know how to get in touch with them if he wanted to," the spokesman said.

Trybuna Ludu said the Italians also had links with the CIA and had arranged contacts between Solidarity officials and U.S. agents.

"It would be interesting to know if Scricciolo passed on his experience in the field of terror used by the Red Brigades to the anti-social underground," Trybuna Ludu said.

"Maybe the investigation will shed new light on the other details of the connection between terrorists from the Red Brigades and extremists from Solidarity," it said, referring to the Italian inquiry into alleged Scricciolo ties with the Red Brigades.



General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish leader, at the Sejm Tuesday. At left is Zbigniew Madej, a deputy prime minister.

Truth and a Polish Press Agency

Interpress Draws Fire From Foreign, Domestic Critics

By Dan Fisher
 Los Angeles Times Service
WARSAW — Western correspondents trying to learn the scope of anti-government protests that took place after the dissolution on Oct. 8 of the Solidarity independent trade union got help from an unexpected source.

The official Interpress agency, charged with "shaping the image of contemporary Poland abroad," reported in its daily news bulletin that there had been strikes in three provinces about which the correspondents would probably not have heard otherwise.

Moreover, the daily bulletin, called "Review," disclosed that leaflets calling for demonstrations and a boycott of new government-backed unions had appeared in several factories in the Katowice coal mining basin in southern Poland and that a man had tried to blow up a mine in the area.

Jan Glowczyk, the Communist Party official in charge of propaganda, reportedly said the bulletin had the tone of a Radio Free Europe script and ordered the publication suspended. Its censor was said to have been dismissed.

"They just don't understand," an Interpress staff member told a Western reporter soon afterward. The party propagandists "don't see that we have to give you five things that you want so you'll believe the sixth, which the government wants."

The staff member's remark revealed much about what is proba-

bly the East bloc's most unusual press agency.

Foreign correspondents based in Warsaw refer to the agency disparagingly as "Intermum," but most of them find it almost indispensable in their work, if only to keep track of the regime's latest sales pitch.

Western diplomats say the agency is simply a government vehicle for the distribution of "deliberate disinformation." But they do so off the record because they do not want to ruin their own relations with Interpress.

The service is headed by a former military intelligence officer who was expelled from the United States 20 years ago for "activities inconsistent with his diplomatic status."

Despite its reputation, the agency seems to draw as much criticism from Polish government and party officials as from foreign reporters.

For example, it is under investigation by the Communist Party's Central Control Commission in connection with a letter that was sharply critical of government policy. The letter, written by a party hard-liner, was leaked to several Western correspondents. The party official protested to the commission that the leak was part of an Interpress plot to blacken his name.

Unlike the official press agency, PAP, which serves Poland's 2,500 newspapers and radio and television stations, Interpress functions almost as a public relations agency. It helps to arrange programs, provides translators and offers services for foreign correspondents. It also publishes promotional books and magazines and produces films.

Its most controversial activity is the spreading of a mixture of rumor, inside knowledge, purportedly leaked documents and pure misinformation.

But when it showed signs of being swept up in the spirit of reform that characterized Solidarity's birthday Interpress was considered by Western reporters to be nearly as reliable a source of information as a truly independent agency. About 20 percent of the agency's 600 employees were members of the union.

Five days before martial law was imposed on Dec. 13, 1981, for example, "Daily Digest," which was the predecessor of "Review," reported that a secret government plot showed that 74 percent of the population trusted Solidarity's leaders but that only 30 percent believed the authorities.

The final issue of "Daily Digest," published on Dec. 11, 1981, reported that "soundings conducted in major enterprises indicate that factory crews were united in their support of Solidarity decisions" made a few days before. The martial law regime soon cited these "decisions" as proof that the union had aimed to overthrow Poland's government.

After martial law was imposed, the agency had to fight for its life against critics within the regime who saw it as a nest of counterrevolution. Its activities remained suspended for seven months.

Director Mirosław Wojciechowski's background in intelligence work may have been a key to the agency's survival. He served in military intelligence during a 20-year army career and served for a time as military attaché in the Polish Embassy in Washington. He was expelled in 1962.

Government sources said Mr. Wojciechowski's military contacts were crucial in winning approval for reactivation of the agency.

While the atmosphere is more subdued than it was year ago, some of the old spark remains.

The agency has just co-published what is believed to be the first "Who's Who" in a Warsaw Pact country.

The volume carries among its 4,000 entries a full list of the members of the ruling Military Council of National Salvation, of course. But it also has lengthy entries on Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader; Karol Kuron, a dissident who faces a possible death penalty over sedition charges; and Władysław Frasyniuk, a former Solidarity leader in Wrocław who was sentenced Nov. 24 to six years in prison for illegal underground activity.

Up to \$7.9 Million
 Stolen From Bank
 In Spanish Resort

Reuter
MARBELLA, Spain — Thieves took as much as one million pesetas (\$7.9 million) in cash, bullion and jewelry in a Christmas raid on a bank in this Spanish coastal resort, the police say.

Four or five men spent the Christmas holiday ransacking 200 safe deposit boxes in the Banco de Andalucía after neutralizing the alarm system and burrowing into the bank from an empty apartment above, the police said Monday.

Estimates of the value of the theft in jewelry, bullion and cash were rough, they said, since a number of foreigners had probably deposited huge quantities of valuables in the safe deposit boxes.

They said the thieves had cut through the door to the main vault on Friday evening, which was Christmas Eve, with acetylene torches, which they left on the premises. They probably then spent 48 hours looting the strong boxes, the police said.

Andropov's Intelligence Impressed Hungarians

(Continued from Page 1)
 apparently to the ambassador, Miklos Vasarhelyi, Mr. Nagy's press aide, who later spent four years in prison, said, "It was Andropov who talked to him first, and it was Andropov who persuaded Kadar to go over to the Soviet viewpoint."

From the embassy the two Hungarians were taken to the Tokol air base, outside Budapest, to Uzhorod, across the border in the Carpathian Ukraine and on to Moscow. In a speech in 1957, Mr. Kadar said he began negotiations with "the Soviet comrades" on Nov. 2. "By Nov. 3, we were all set, and on Nov. 4, the offensive began" — the closing of the Soviet pincers around Budapest.

It is widely believed in Budapest that Mr. Andropov was one of the key figures in persuading Nikita S. Khrushchev to install Mr. Kadar as Mr. Nagy's replacement. Khrushchev himself preferred Mr. Murcin, who had fought in the Russian Revolution and in the Red Army in World War II.

On the night of Nov. 2-3, however, Khrushchev was meeting President Tito of Yugoslavia at his island retreat of Brioni in the Adriatic Sea. According to the diary of a Yugoslav diplomat who was present, Tito argued strongly that Mr. Kadar would be more likely to attract a genuine popular following in Hungary, not least because he had served time in prison under the Stalinist government of Matyas Rakosi.

"Andropov knew the opinion of Hungarian party leaders better than anyone else, and he knew the mood of the people," a close associate of Mr. Kadar said. "When Tito opted for Kadar, Andropov was in position to support him."

Janos Berecz, the editor of *Nepszabadsag*, the Hungarian party's daily newspaper, has written extensively about the events of 1956 and their sequel. Mr. Berecz said in an interview in his Budapest office: "When the government changed, he stopped being Com-

rade Andropov and started being Mr. Andropov. He learned from that experience. He knows perfectly well that the crisis here, and similar crises elsewhere in Eastern Europe, have nothing to do with Western imperialists arriving here and manufacturing difficulties. He knows that crises arise from within and have to be solved from within. That counts for a lot."

The thing about Mr. Andropov that most impresses Hungarians who know him is the quality of his mind. Mr. Berecz described him as a man "who thinks before he talks." Andras Hegedus, the Stalinist prime minister of Hungary in 1955 and 1956, speaks of "an open mind, intelligent and not merely clever."

"We were Stalinist functionaries together," recalled Mr. Hegedus, who was trained as a sociologist. "We traveled to villages and farms and factories, talking to peasants and workers about economic and social conditions. We sometimes went to Moscow on the same airplane."

He was different from most Soviet diplomats I have known. Most of them think they know everything after they have read the papers, and they stay in Budapest. Not Andropov. He had a real passion to learn and to know — to understand — this country, and he was even willing to learn some Hungarian so that he could probe more deeply."

According to David Irving's book "Uprising!" published last year, Mr. Andropov had his doubts about the way Poliburo traitors who had fled to "clear with Moscow" certain decisions, Mr. Helai told the BBC recently: "I'm sure that he had an absolutely free hand to deal with the revolutionaries, so the reign of terror in Hungary was the reign of terror of Yuri Andropov. It's bound to his name forever."

Ivan Boldizsar, the editor of *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, used to meet Mr. Andropov at receptions and sometimes chatted with him in English. He put the matter of the Kadar succession much more bluntly. Mr. Andropov, he said, proved to Khrushchev "that the Soviet management of Hungary had been misguided and that Kadar could best rectify the situation."

"In the end," Mr. Boldizsar said, "Andropov was a hard-liner. After all, the Soviets came in and crushed the rebellion. But they didn't do it until Nov. 4, and the outcome was much better than it might have been otherwise."

Mr. Vasarhelyi, the former Nagy press aide, says it is pointless to describe Mr. Andropov as a hard-liner or a soft-liner.

"I have no illusions about the man," he said. "He spent 15 years as the head of the KGB. He has had a long and successful career in the party. He is a tough man, but he is a realist. One can speak to him, especially on the subject of Central and Eastern Europe. Unfortunately for us, Eastern Europe is the one area where the Russian ruling class, which certainly includes Andropov, cannot afford to yield anything. In Cambodia, on arms, even Afghanistan, yes, but we are their forefront. One can only hope that Andropov's investment in Kadar over all these many years will give us a bit of protection."

WORLD BRIEFS

Bonn Assails Andropov Missile Plan

BONN (Reuters) — West Germany stepped up its denunciation Tuesday of proposals by the Soviet leader, Yuri V. Andropov, for nuclear missile cuts in Europe. Bonn accused the Soviet Union of trying to detach West Germany from the U.S. nuclear protection.

Defense Minister Manfred Wörner said in a statement that West Germany would be exposed to the full threat of Soviet medium-range missiles deployed in Eastern Europe if the Andropov proposals were adopted. Last week Mr. Andropov offered to cut Soviet medium-range missiles to the number of nuclear missiles deployed by Britain and France.

But Mr. Wörner said West Germany had renounced the production and possession of nuclear weapons and had to rely on U.S. protection from nuclear attack. Britain and France could not, and had no wish to, use their missiles to defend West Germany, he maintained. "The Soviet proposals are thus tantamount to detaching Europe, especially West Germany, from the nuclear protection of the U.S. and so violate the essential security interests of West Germany," he said.

Afghan, Soviet Troops Fight in Error

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (Reuters) — Soviet troops and allied Afghan forces mistakenly fired on each other in Afghanistan, and security checks caused traffic jams for several days during a major operation to halt guerrilla attacks in Kabul, Western diplomats in Pakistan said Tuesday.

They said the security precautions in the Afghan capital were the most severe since Soviet troops intervened in the country in December 1979 to support a coup that brought President Babrak Karmal to power. Guerrillas had reportedly planned to attack targets in Kabul to mark the invasion's third anniversary.

The diplomats said a number of government troops were killed or wounded when the Russians mistook Afghan government troops for Moslem guerrillas and opened fire. Four Soviet soldiers were found dead in an empty building near Kabul airport two days earlier after apparently being hurt there by resistance supporters, the diplomats said.

Chinese Aide Meets With Moroccan

RABAT, Morocco (UPI) — Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang of China and his delegation held talks Tuesday with Prince Minister Moust Bouabid of Morocco and then left for Marrakech to meet with King Hassan II.

During the third stop on his 10-nation tour of Africa, Mr. Zhao agreed to establish a committee of experts that would foster increased aid to Morocco. Much of the discussion between the two leaders, however, focused on world problems, including the Middle East and the need for a dialogue among Third World countries.

Moroccan officials said Mr. Zhao was sympathetic to Mr. Bouabid's policy of nonalignment. Mr. Bouabid said he attached great importance to the nonaligned movement and opposed any effort to push the movement away from its original goals.

Judge to Hear Bulgarian's Defense

ROME (Reuters) — Two lawyers defending Sergei I. Antonov, the Bulgarian held last month for complicity in the shooting of Pope John Paul II, received a summons Tuesday to present their client's case to a magistrate.

The lawyers said they received the summons from the investigating magistrate, Mario Martella, who is leading the inquiry into the assassination attempt by a Turkish gunman, Mehmet Ali Agca.

Judicial sources said Judge Martella would meet the lawyers within the next few days. They were hired by the Bulgarian Embassy shortly after Mr. Antonov's arrest Nov. 25. Their appeal for his release was rejected by a special tribunal.

For the Record

TEL AVIV (Reuters) — An all-out 48-hour strike by Israeli civil servants for higher pay, the second in two weeks, has been called for Wednesday by the Histadrut union federation.

FORT LAUDERDALE, Florida (AP) — John B. Kelly Jr., 55, brother of the late Princess Grace of Monaco, resisted a robber and was shot in Fort Lauderdale, officials said. He was listed in fair condition in a hospital with a wound in the groin.

For Israelis, Gemayel Is Uncertain Partner

(Continued from Page 1)
 is pressing Syria to stay in Lebanon to deny the United States an easy diplomatic accomplishment.

Simultaneously, Washington is reportedly pressing Saudi Arabia to offer huge amounts of money to Syria to pull out, money that Damascus needs to buy Soviet weapons to replace its losses during the war.

Talks Open In Lebanon

(Continued from Page 1)
 concluded in 1949 had not been abrogated because "Lebanon did not resort to any belligerent action against Israel."

Mr. Kimche, who is director-general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, disagreed, saying that — the eve of the Six-Day War in 1967, the leaders of Lebanon at the time declared their association with the Arab armies. He said Lebanon was also a signatory in 1967 to an agreement that permitted the PLO to set up operations in Lebanon, but that it later became "a state within a state."

He then added that "we hope to sign here an agreement which we believe will be a step away from the full, final, formal peace treaty that we would like to see come about."

The final statement was made by Morris Draper, the U.S. special envoy who spent many weeks getting the two sides to the table at Khalde. Mr. Draper pledged U.S. assistance in reaching an agreement, adding: "The United States believes strongly that the legitimate security interests of Israel should be addressed and satisfied to the maximum extent possible."

"At the same time, the United States supports Lebanon's independence, national unity and integrity and the restoration of full sovereignty throughout its territories," Mr. Draper said.

■ **Jumbhat Residence Attacked**
 Police said gunmen in a sports car opened fire on security guards outside the Beirut residence of Walid Jumblatt, a leftist Druze leader, sparking a shoot-out in which at least one assailant was wounded. The Associated Press reported, Mr. Jumblatt, who survives, a car-bomb assassination attempt Dec. 1, was home at the time of the mid-afternoon attack but was unharmed, aides said.

■ **U.K. to Join UN Force**
 Britain informed the United Nations on Tuesday that it will send an 80-man armored reconnaissance unit, currently based in Cyprus, to join the multinational peacekeeping force in Lebanon, thus becoming the fourth nation to join the force. The Associated Press reported from New York.

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Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

2 Aspects of Poland

As the Jaruzelski regime lifts some martial law restrictions and casts others into law, how should we interpret the emerging pattern of "liberalization"? Is General Jaruzelski acting from a position of strength or of weakness? A case can be made either way.

One view sees him firmly in control. Solidarity, and with it all possibility of organized opposition, is seen as dead. The regime is moving with purpose and élan and a sure grasp of the levers of power. Behind it stand Warsaw Pact armies ready to move into Polish cities should the general falter. The Polish church, in recognition of the harsh realities, has quieted hotheaded younger priests and advised accommodation and patience.

In all, in this resigned view, Poles should be grateful for such freedoms as the general condescends to grant, and should get on with rebuilding their economy until Poland can at least repay the interest on her loans. Perhaps in a decade or two their economy might become a market-oriented success like that of post-1956 Hungary.

The other view is that General Jaruzelski's position is extraordinarily weak. The banning of Solidarity in October set up spontaneous disturbances that severely shook the self-confidence of his regime and led him in short order to play every strong card in his hand — the random murder of demonstrators, the scheduling of a papal visit, the release of Lech Walesa, the nominal lifting of martial law, the temporary relaxation of food rationing for Christmas.

Even Izvestia has recognized that the Polish Communist Party has lost the cadres crucial to governing. In Poland the Leninist doctrine of the party as the fountain of all authority no longer works. The crucial functions of maintaining order and directing policy are now performed by military officers and careerist technocrats, and even they need an occasional assist from the church. Instead of party congresses there is the sham legalism of special parliamentary sessions to announce major changes.

Moreover, this interpretation concludes, General Jaruzelski can see no light at the end of the tunnel. The Polish economy, now near collapse, has served its purpose of fun-

neling Western capital and technology to backward Russia. Now that Hungary has taken over this role, Poland is a liability. With the Soviets loath to divert either guns or butter into his sinkhole, the general has pathetically little room for maneuver.

Which view is correct? Interestingly, both. The Jaruzelski regime is impressively strong relative to Solidarity. But it is weak in its ability to influence the Polish people and economy. General Jaruzelski can detain, defame or assassinate Lech Walesa at will, but he cannot arrest economic conditions more severe than those that unseated two previous heads of state. Nor, without the Soviet-sponsored equivalent of a Marshall Plan, can he offer hope to a young generation that has tasted freedom.

What Poland presents therefore is that most volatile of political situations: a widespread sense of popular grievance without institutionalized means for giving it expression, a democratic will without democratic institutions. Precisely because General Jaruzelski is strong relative to any competing source of power, he is alone the target of all unrest. His strength is his weakness.

Mr. Walesa, acting on a clear perception of this paradox, has offered General Jaruzelski (read: Mr. Andropov) a low-cost way to stabilize the situation. Instead of massive economic aid or troop movements he has proposed a political solution culminating in plural centers of power guaranteed out by party fiat but by law. Mr. Walesa is willing to lend his considerable prestige to moderating economic discontent in return for what would be the first step in the East bloc toward representative government.

This, if the past is any guide, is the one thing no Soviet leader can tolerate. But Mr. Andropov may have a more flexible repertoire. As Soviet ambassador to Hungary in the years 1954-57 he understands that political concessions need not be permanent. One can use them to allow genuinely national leadership to become visible so that one can crush it later. The West, for its part, can make clear that a lasting political solution is much cheaper than the other options.

—INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE.

Searching for Jobs

Today in America there are 12 million people looking for work. Millions of other jobless people have either become so discouraged they have quit trying to find a job or have taken part-time work until they can find a full-time job. Why can these people not find work? After all, there are still big wage and price controls in the economy, about 50 percent fewer than two years ago. The trouble is that many of the available jobs require skills and education possessed by few of the unemployed. Openings do occur in less-skilled jobs. Even in the worst depression normal turnover produces vacancies. But for most of them there is a line of people waiting.

Recently in Los Angeles, about 1,000 people — some in upper-middle-class attire — lined up to apply for five manual labor jobs. These jobs, however, paid up to \$1,380 a month. Further down the heap are the menial jobs that have become the property of illegal immigrants and other fringe members of the society. When the immigration service launched a drive to oust illegal workers from these jobs last spring, employers claimed that they could find no other takers. Perhaps the employers did not try very hard — illegal status makes docile workers — but when the Wall Street Journal tracked down some U.S. workers who took them, they found that nearly all had quit within a few days. Low pay and harsh working conditions were part of the reason. But so was self-respect. Stigma attaches to the kind of work currently reserved for aliens. Minimum level wages are now derided as "women's pay."

Perhaps that attitude partly explains why women have not been hit as hard by this recession as men have. But before you prescribe a steady diet of minimum wages for the unemployed, remember that the minimum wage is now frozen at \$3.35 an hour. In

terms of purchasing power that is about 25 percent less than the minimum wage in 1975. After payroll deductions, transportation and other work expenses, a minimum-wage worker earns less than \$6,000 a year, far below the official poverty level for a family of four. Try providing food, clothing, housing and medical care for a family on that and you will see why breadwinners cannot settle for it.

God knows many people who are trained for and accustomed to better-paid work have taken such jobs to make some livelihood anyhow. But this kind of drop in living standards — especially after people have "paid their dues," worked their way up a bit higher — is not something that the average American, growing up in the prosperous decades since World War II, has been led to expect. There have been recurrent recessions to be sure, but government intervention in the economy and government insurance-type programs could be counted on to see everyone through, and sooner or later the jobs came back.

This time a return to ordinary times is not in the cards. Government policy has changed. And more is going on in the economy than the kind of cyclic downturn that comes from an excess of inventories or even an oil shock. While no one was paying much attention, the American economy has become internationalized and a new wave of automation is sweeping through both the manufacturing and service sectors. This means more markets for the high technology that the United States excels at, but it also means that many of the jobs formerly held by the country's displaced workers will, in the future, be done by either foreign workers or robots. Without substantial help, the worker in search of a decently paid assembly line job is likely to be on the road for a long time to come.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Opinion

A Starting Point

At the end of a process begun by talking to Mr. Andropov it might just be possible to see a nuclear-free Europe in which defense rested on conventional weapons. That is, at present, too distant and hazy a glimpse. What is of immediate relevance is to think again about the ouster of Soviet troops in Europe and whether it really is the mismatch demanding cruise and Pershing weapons on the Western side. We do not believe it is.

The reason it looks like that is that the absolute power of the weapons concerned has been concealed behind arguments about relative numbers. "The Soviet Union is not naive," Mr. Andropov said recently, dismissing a criticism which is not often heard. He does not expect naïveté in the West either. That is a sensible starting point towards a true zero option in Europe in which Western and Soviet interests could well be found to coincide.

—The Guardian (London).

DEC. 29: FROM OUR PAGES 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1907: Defendants Silenced

ST. PETERSBURG — At the sitting of the trial of the 169 members of the first Duma who signed the Viborg appeal to the people, some of the members of the deputies attempted to pronounce political speeches. They were, however, at once stopped by the presiding judge. Finally the public prosecutor called for a severe punishment, asserting that the act for which the accused were being prosecuted was committed while blood was still being shed in the country, but that the people, being suspicious of their intentions, did not follow them, and thus the revolution which they desired was avoided. The conditions under which the trial is being conducted are extremely trying to the accused.

1932: Technocracy Discussed

ATLANTIC CITY — The principal dilemma facing mechanized civilization, namely, distress amid plenty, was brought to the attention of the Society for the Advancement of Science here, where 4,500 scientists are contemplating the problems of the Western world. It was admitted that chaos would reign without adequate diagnosis of the complaint, or an adequate remedy. Technocracy, which is science's medium whereby monetary values are translated into terms of energy, was discussed. Some scientists inferred that man is obsolete as a productive agency, having gone the way of the horse. Technocracy's thesis is that the world faces stalemate in civilization when the machine replaces man.

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U.S. Links Worry Australians

By Pranay Gupta

CANBERRA, Australia — In this capital city of sparkling monuments, wide boulevards and parks, the preoccupation of Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's government these days is with an unemployment rate of close to 10 percent and the inflation rate of about 12 percent.

But lately, more and more members of Parliament, defense analysts and ordinary Australians have also been expressing concern about another major issue, the relationship between their country and what Australian governments over the years have called the nation's "great and powerful friend," the United States.

The United States maintains more than two dozen installations in Australia concerned with sensitive military communications, navigation, satellite tracking and control and intelligence gathering. This makes Australia host to more such American operations than any other country except Britain, Canada and West Germany.

The concern, as stated by Kim C. Beazley, an opposition Labor Party representative from Western Australia and member of Parliament's Foreign Relations Committee, is whether the United States is getting more out of the relationship than Australia is.

At the Strategic and Defense Studies Center at the Australian National University here, Desmond J. Ball predicted that "the U.S. connection is and will remain for the foreseeable future a fundamental underpinning of Australian national security policy."

"But the U.S. connection also has costs, risks and constraints," he added. "The inroads into Australian sovereignty, the likelihood of Australia being a nuclear target because of the presence of the American defense facilities and the obstacles placed in the way of more independent defense and foreign policies are each extremely serious negative features of the U.S. connection."

In recent weeks there has been several protests at American facilities. Fueling the concern is the question of landing rights granted to the United States for B-52 bombers at Darwin. The U.S. and Australian governments insist that these planes are only on training missions and do not carry nuclear weapons, but critics contend that there is no adequate monitoring by Australia to insure that the bombers do not carry such arms.

"The question of the relationship with the United States is no longer only an issue of the left," said Fred S. Mediansky of the University of New South Wales in Sydney. "What you are seeing in Australia is a shift in perceptions that was started by the left but now has gone to the center. The consensus is still pro-America, but with increasing reservations."

The linchpin of the military relationship is the so-called Anzus Treaty, which was signed 31 years ago. Under this agreement, Washington is committed broadly to the strategic defense of Australia and New Zealand in the event of a wider war or if those two countries are threatened.

Mr. Mediansky says, however, that the selective withdrawal of American military power in Asia and the Pacific has moved Australia further from Washington's strategic focus in the Far East. Moreover, Mr. Ball says, there is some question about whether the United States would be militarily capable of providing quick assistance.

"I think we are now relying more on ourselves — the buzzword in defense circles these days is 'self-reliance' — he went on to say.

Mr. Beazley asserts that the Australian government does not take sufficient advantage of its position in its military relationship with Washington. He notes that through the U.S. facilities at North West Cape, Pine Gap and Nurrungar, the United States is able to monitor China and the Soviet Union. American nuclear submarines call at facilities in Western Australia and Australia assists in joint military exercises in the Southwest Pacific and in and submarine surveillance in the eastern Indian Ocean.

"The early warning monitoring done in Australia, especially at Nurrungar, is valuable, and that service is about the most significant that any country outside of some of the NATO states performs for the United States," Mr. Beazley commented.

He and other critics of Australian foreign policy expressed disenchantment with what they call the Fraser government's acquiescence to American requests in foreign-affairs matters. For example, some of them say that Australia needlessly accepted a role in the Sinai peace-keeping force after the Camp David accord was reached.

Other constraints on Australia's foreign policy that result from the ties with the United States, according to critics, involve its relationship with the Third World.

On the one hand, Australia is among the biggest bilateral donors to developing countries, but its position at times has been undermined by the military relationship with the United States.

Some years ago, for example, when Australia endorsed a proposal to establish the "Indian Ocean as a zone of peace," Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India wondered publicly how Australia could play an effective role in doing so while it had U.S. facilities on its territory.

There is also rising concern here that the operations of some of the American facilities have led to Australian involvement in activities about which the Canberra government has been neither informed nor consulted.

No one is suggesting that the military relationship will end, but there is emerging agreement that Australia must build up its own defenses and perhaps rely less on American promises and commitments.

International Herald Tribune.

Can Rawlings Still Rescue Ghana?

By Colin Legum

LONDON — Ghana's charismatic leader, Jerry J. Rawlings has, for the moment, successfully crushed the attempted counter-coup against his year-old regime.

He has also, so far, managed to survive the defection of a number of army officers who were involved with him in staging the coup which brought him to power on Dec. 31, 1981, for the second time. He had previously wrested and held power for about six months in 1979.

The question is where Mr. Rawlings goes from here? His regime is clearly in difficulties. There are no signs of improvement in the situation in Ghana: its economy remains parlous and its once dynamically active people remains gripped in a paralyzing malaise from which they have never recovered since the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah in 1966. Neither civilian nor military rulers since that time have been successful in rescuing the once-bright hope of Africa from its economic and political decline.

In his second period of office, Mr. Rawlings still has only two achievements to his credit. The first has been to deal firmly, though not yet altogether effectively, with corruption and smuggling across the country's borders. However, unlike his first brief and sanguinary period of rule, he has this time avoided executing the corrupt. They have been tried in court and given prison sentences.

His second success was to rekindle some of the earlier enthusiasm and optimism among young Ghanaians, who have volunteered to work in the countryside. But this initial enthusiasm is sadly wanting.

Faced with his recent setbacks and the failure to get Ghana moving again, it seems unlikely that a dynamic, dedicated leader like Mr. Rawlings will simply try to hang on to power for the sake of power. The choice that faces him is either to move in a new political direction or to face the continuing break up of his Provisional National Defense Council.

In this situation the most influential intellectual among Mr. Rawlings' group of advisers is Emmanuel Hansen, who holds the important post of secretary of the defense council. Mr. Hansen is a committed Marxist.

His views about the situation in Ghana appear in the latest issue of the "Journal of African Marxism."

"What is significant about Rawlings' second intervention," Mr. Hansen writes, "is that it is a coup with revolutionary import. It is the unfolding of the revolution which is now firmly on the agenda."

He gives particular importance to the "people's defense committees" that have been set up in the urban and rural areas, "charged with the task of defending the revolution."

These committees are expected to keep watch over "the corrupt practices of the petty bourgeois."

Mr. Hansen then goes on to say that "The regime has also managed to attract to itself a group of radical academics whose advice it relies upon to resolve the contradictions in Ghanaian society and to put into effect programs to disengage the country from international capitalism and domination of finance capital."

"It is this class base of the regime and the recognition by the leadership that the contradictions cannot be solved within the structure of the neo-colony which leads one to think that the present regime provides conditions for a meaningful change in Ghanaian society."

However, with many years of political experience behind him, Mr. Hansen is not just a starry-eyed academic. He sensibly warns that although the signs are propitious for revolutionary changes to occur, these will not be accomplished easily.

Mr. Hansen, like Mr. Rawlings, is a deeply committed Marxist. It is unlikely that he would choose to resign if his advice were not accepted. He is therefore a man to watch for clues as to whether Mr. Rawlings will translate his revolutionary rhetoric and fervor into Marxist policies.

International Herald Tribune.

How to Dim Holiday Spirit: List Your Errors

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — The nicest put-down of the year now ending came from William D. Hathaway. It consisted of just three words, "Thanks a lot!" scribbled on a copy of a piece I had written about the Senate race in Maine.

He drew an arrow from his comment to a sentence that said that "Maine has a tradition of significant senators, from Margaret Chase Smith to Edmund S. Muskie to William S. Cohen." Left unsaid by Mr. Hathaway was the fact that in between Mrs. Smith and Mr. Cohen, Mr. Muskie had had another colleague from Maine. And his name was William D. Hathaway.

That was a classy rebuke. A good many of the other corrections and rejoinders were less charitable and more glib, and some were downright irate. But as the annual review of the year's output demonstrates, once again the proprietor of this column provided his loyal readers with a gratifying number of opportunities to write letters that begin with "Dear Jerk."

There is nothing so likely to snap you out of the holiday high spirits as looking back at the judgments and misjudgments made during the previous 12 months.

There were, as always, enough plain factual errors to send me back to Journalism 101. In September, I misattributed a Wisconsin political story that was written by Ken Lamke of the Milwaukee Sentinel. He took it with good grace, sending me a mildly worded note that declared, "You've destroyed my career and made my mother cry — and she's from New Jersey."

In April I demonstrated my financial incompetence by saying that interest rates had gone up when, as George Weber pointed out, almost everyone knew they had declined.

The big disappointment in the year-end review was the absence of the traditional bowler of a political prediction. Either I am getting more cautious, in old age, or the elections are getting simpler, but I searched in vain for the kind of absolutely wrong-headed guess that was so frequent in previous election years.

Knowing the penchant of the gods

to even up such scores, I can almost promise you that 1983 will be full of glorious goofs.

Meanwhile, allow me to recall a prediction from 50 years ago that may be as relevant as any end-of-the-year prediction.

When Herbert Hoover was renominated in the Depression summer of 1932, the editorialists at The Washington Post said, "The Republican Party goes into the contest with its best contender, under conditions favorable to success. . . . In this national crisis, he has been a national leader, and unless a Democratic champion of compelling ability should capture the fancy and win the confidence of the people, they are very likely to put their faith in Mr. Hoover."

Even if I was unable to match that standard consistently in 1982, the lesson of 50 years of political journalism still supports the admonition with which this end-of-the-year essay traditionally concludes: Caveat lector. Let the reader beware.

Happy new year, and, as William D. Hathaway would say, "Thanks a lot!"

The Washington Post.

Russians Refusing To Look at History

By Joseph Kraft

MOSCOW — "I certainly hope not," Alexander Bovin, a leading Russian journalist, exclaimed when asked whether Yuri V. Andropov would use the 60th anniversary celebrations here last week to review Soviet history. As it happens, Mr. Andropov made almost no mention of days gone by in the major speech he gave at the Kremlin on Tuesday.

For the past of the Soviet Union is an awkward subject. The regime is reluctant to look back, and the reluctance expresses both its strength in resisting challenge, and its weakness in solving basic national problems.

The uncertain status of previous leaders provides one major reason for not summoning up recollections of things past. Lenin, and Lenin alone, is honored as the patron saint of the first Socialist state. The delegates from all over Russia, and from 130 foreign countries, who came here last week for the ceremonies saw only his portrait on display as they drove across the Moscow River en route from the airport to the Kremlin.

Stalin presents a case in hot dispute. His terror tactics are openly denounced by many Russians, and a play now on the boards features his last testament with its warning about "two much power" going to Stalin. But Russian hard hats are said to cherish pictures of Stalin. Moves to refurbish his memory still command support inside the party.

Khrushchev is praised by many for his boldness in exposing the excesses of Stalinism. A new book by the independent political analyst, Roy Medvedev, that extols Khrushchev has just been published here in an English edition. But Khrushchev is widely deplored as — in the words of one party figure — "the kind of leader who couldn't make the slightest move without shaking the whole world."

Mr. Andropov, who owes his big rise to Khrushchev, did not feel easy enough about his patron to say a good word for him.

Leonid I. Brezhnev enjoys the kind of dual praise given to those still warm in the grave. A plaque has been placed at his residence on Kutuzovskiy Prospekt, and a movie about him was broadcast on television on Dec. 19, his birthday.

But Mr. Andropov beat out Mr. Brezhnev's protégé, Konstantin U. Chernenko, for the top position. Subsequent personnel changes, including a new minister of interior, have replaced Brezhnev with Andropov partisans. So in deed, if not in word, de-Brezhnevization has already started.

Past events do not seem to concern him much more easily than former leaders. Major features of the national saga, of course, find general endorsement. The revolution, the industrialization of the '30s, the "Great Pa-

triotic War" and the venture into space all fit into the category of right stuff. But politics is different.

The 60th anniversary last week technically celebrated the establishment of a federation — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — that joined the Russian republic with republics in the Ukraine, the Caucasus and other places. Theoretically all the republics were autonomous and enjoyed the right of secession. In fact, they were brought together by Stalin, over protests from a dying Lenin, as a means of subordinating different ethnic areas to centralized rule. But to this day the pretense of autonomy coexists with the reality of domination by Moscow.

Peaceful coexistence itself was a policy established by Stalin at least as early as 1924. By then it had become clear that the world revolution foreseen by Leon Trotsky and other foes of Stalin was not going to happen. But, if only because an internal power struggle was involved, Stalin never conclusively repudiated world revolution. Now Russia patronizes both the modern equivalent of world revolution — wars of national liberation — and détente, which is the updated version of peaceful coexistence.

The New Economic Policy was a system of incentives created by Lenin in 1921 as a way to elicit more food from peasants and more goods from workers. But to justify continued party rule, Lenin and his followers kept alive the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which they ascribed to Karl Marx. To this day, a running conflict goes on between reformers, who keep trying to improve output with incentives, and the party apparatus, which seeks to run the economy, and everything else, by command from on high.

As long as the past is not repudiated, the dilemmas continue unresolved. Party leaders thus have at their disposal a doctrine that gives them license for whatever policy seems expedient. Their power, unconstrained by law or basic philosophic commitment, seems absolute.

But a doctrine so plainly the child of self-interest instills no faith. Ordinary Russians are increasingly cynical and self-indulgent. They pose questions about poor services, inadequate housing and shoddy goods. So along with the absolute power that top go a series of public doubts that Soviet leaders have found impossible to put away.

The new leadership under Mr. Andropov has unquestionably sensed the problem. Whether it can overcome the difficulty seems less clear. For, in general, the future does not seem to be mastered by those unwilling to face the past.

Los Angeles Times.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

MX Solution

Frequently in recent weeks the International Herald Tribune has carried articles by prominent experts on the MX issue. Unfortunately this has probably not made this important matter clear to most readers.

Land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles have become more accurate and more powerful, a first strike against such missiles more dangerous. Most writers consider such a first strike by the United States unlikely. The obvious strategy in these circumstances would seem to be to make the U.S. deterrent force safer from attack by exclusive sea and air basing or by protecting land-based missiles with an effective ABM system.

P.L. VAN DEN BERGH
Gen. France.

Bishops' Duties

Regarding "The Bishops' Letter: Noble Goals, Faulty Means" (IHT, Nov. 25): Any Catholic bishop in good faith must oppose armaments and war (any war). There are no conditions, no "ifs" or "buts" as "unitariness" is a political term, irrelevant in a discussion of morals.

DIANE SMITH GAECHTER
Manila.

U.S. Missile Policy

Regarding "Russians Offer Cues in Missiles: U.S. Wary" (IHT, Dec. 13): If by negotiation we mean "to discuss with a view to settlement or compromise," the Soviets are negotiating and the U.S. is not.

By not budging from the so-called zero-option, the U.S. demands unilateral removal of Soviet weapons in exchange for nondeployment of new U.S. missiles of a totally different sort. By offering to reduce their force to the lowest level since the 1960s, the Soviets have shifted significantly from their opening position. That is negotiation. The claim that this proposal would still allow for Soviet medium-range missiles while the U.S. has none is ridiculous, based as it is on misleading distinctions between weapon systems. Submarines capable of obliterating vast areas of the U.S.S.R. are deployed in European waters, and U.S. bombers fly European skies. By U.S. insistence, these and the entire nuclear arsenals of Britain and France are not taken into account in establishing the relative strengths of the two sides.

The U.S.S.R. has proposed measures leading to a "real zero-option" as a step toward freeing Europe from all tactical and medium-range weapons. Such proposals merit serious consideration. Instead, the U.S. ignores or rejects them out of hand, thus ensuring that the talks are unsuccessful in order to justify deployment of cruise and Pershing-2 missiles next year. People in Britain, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany have begun to block the gates of U.S. bases where these destabilizing first-strike weapons are to be placed, under U.S. control, next year. In so doing, Europeans demand success in these negotiations, for their future depends on it. What more will it take to pressure the U.S. to change

its policy in these talks, to ratify the SALT II treaty, to pledge non-first use of nuclear weapons, and to agree to a total nuclear test ban? If the U.S., by its policy, can risk nuclear war, can it not risk disarmament?

JANET BRUIN,
Zurich.

'Hall of Shame'

Regarding "One Man's Ballet for U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame" (IHT, Nov. 12): I propose a Hall of Shame for the promoters and 500 members of the National Sports Writers Association of the U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame Committee. These athletes are the best of the best. It is humiliating to subject them to this kind of contempt.

I suggest a Hall of Gold to be erected in our national capital, Washington, where people from the world over can forever celebrate each and every one of our gold medalists.

SELMA F. HARRIS,
Bilthoven, Netherlands.

Kuwait's Equestrians

Regarding "China Gets 8 More Medals in Delhi" (IHT, Nov. 26): In your article you mentioned that Miss Nadia al-Mubarak of Kuwait won the Gold medal in the individual showjumping competition. Her sister Gemila took the silver medal, and the bronze was awarded to Sheikh Ibrahim al-Sabah, who is not Nadia and Gemila's sister, but is the daughter of H.E. Sheikh Salem al-Sabah.

This happy victory embodies a series of firsts: It is the first time that an international competition of this magnitude; it is the first time that two sisters have won medals in the same event; and it is the first time in the history of the showjumping events in the Asian Games that three young ladies, members of the same team, have won all three medals.

Naturally, we are all very proud of our young team, the fourth member of which is Derek Shamir.

VIRGINIA JALLAD,
Kuwait.

Hamlet's Age

Regarding "The Twentieth in Hamlet" (IHT, Dec. 2): It's a shame that, with the 40 productions of "Hamlet" that Joseph Papp has seen — not to mention the four that he has directed — he never took the opportunity to read or pay that close attention to the text, had he done so, he would never make statements such as "Hamlet is a very young person, an adolescent." We are informed in the gravedigger's scene (Act V, Scene I, lines 175-177) of the standard edition that Hamlet is actually 30 years old.

ROSSEN LORRICK,
Frankfurt.

Letters Intended for Publication

should be addressed to the editor and contain the writer's name and address. Letters may be received prior to, and will be published, if they are

INSIGHTS

Re-education in Laos, Vietnam: Refugees Tell of Deaths, Torture

By William Branigin

Washington Post Staff Writer

BANGKOK — For Bouasy Kamlanga, a former Lao military officer, the "re-education" camp in northern Laos near the Vietnamese border was "just like a prison." Every day, he and 800 other officers who had served the former U.S.-backed government had to do hard labor under the watchful eyes of Pathet Lao guards.

Then one day, Mr. Bouasy said at the Nong Khai refugee camp in northeastern Thailand recently, the routine was broken when two former officers and a civilian escaped. They were at large for nearly a month before being captured and brought back to the camp, where they were paraded before the assembled prisoners, he said. The camp commander told the inmates that they would have to decide the escapees' fate by "democratic means." Mr. Bouasy said, by voting either to have them executed or "taken to another place."

But the prisoners knew there really was no choice, Mr. Bouasy said.

"Everybody raised his hand for them to be killed," he recalled. "Nobody wants to stay in a long time. It's better to be killed, and if we voted to send them to another camp, they would be killed anyway."

Mr. Bouasy, 40, who held the rank of major, may have been luckier than most. Conditions

Although many prisoners have been released, their numbers have been replenished by roundups of new dissidents and old opponents.

at the camp had been in no way as harsh as those described by other refugees, notably those from Vietnam, and after having served five and a half years, he was freed in January 1981.

He fled to Thailand four months later, he said, because of the official harassment he was subjected to after his release and because of his fears that he was about to be rearrested.

The same fear motivated Danh Thao, 42, a former lieutenant in the South Vietnamese Army, who was interviewed at the Panat Nikom refugee holding center 65 miles (104 kilometers) east of Bangkok. Mr. Thao said that he fled overland across Cambodia to Thailand in June 1981 when authorities discovered that he had lied about his rank on a biography of himself that he had been required to write after South Vietnam collapsed in 1975.

Today, seven and a half years after the communist takeovers in South Vietnam and Laos, tens of thousands of people are still in re-education camps, according to refugees and Western diplomats. Although many inmates have been released, the refugees and diplomats say, authorities have replenished their numbers by continuing to round up new dissidents and old opponents.

Behind the years of hard labor, refugees who were in the camps told of executions, torture, severe malnutrition, inadequate medical care and bribery to gain release. In addition to former soldiers, the inmates include civil servants, priests, monks, dissident teachers, writers and other civilians, the refugees say, all held without formal charges or trials.

Some refugees complain that the camps have aroused little international interest, despite what the refugees say have been human rights violations on a massive scale.

According to a diplomat who visited Hanoi recently, Western embassy there now estimates that 100,000 people remain in Vietnamese re-education camps.

Based on interviews with scores of refugees this year, the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok reckons that more than 40 re-education camps were operating in Vietnam as of last year, having a combined population in excess of 126,000.

The last official figure from Hanoi was issued two years ago, when the government said 20,000 Vietnamese remained in the camps.

In 1980, Amnesty International, the London-based human rights group, reported that the Vietnamese government had said the policy of re-education was more humane than

trials and judicial condemnation. The group said that Hanoi also argued that those still detained were guilty of "national treason" and acts against "public security."

Amnesty International rejected Hanoi's arguments. It charged that many detainees had not been involved in prosecuting the war and that, in the absence of trials, the system violated what the group called the internationally recognized right of a person to be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

The group's 1982 annual report declared that the "continuing detention without charge or trial of thousands of members of the former South Vietnamese administration in 're-education' camps remained [Amnesty International's] principal concern" in Vietnam.

It reiterated a complaint about inadequate medical care in the camps and also noted an increase in the application of the death penalty.

Diplomatic reports based on interviews with refugees paint a harsh picture. For a series of such reports compiled by the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok, 60 former prisoners from 14 re-education camps were extensively interviewed, embassy officials said.

The reports do not name the persons interviewed but identify a number of alleged victims of tortures and executions at the camps. An embassy official said the interviews yielded an estimate of more than 44,000 prisoners in the 14 camps.

According to one official, many releases were reported in 1980, but some refugees subsequently said that the releases were mainly to make room for new inmates, particularly those who tried to flee from Vietnam or had concealed their identities after 1975. In addition to dissidents, resistance fighters from the central highlands and common criminals were among the newer prisoners, the U.S. official said.

The former prisoners reported two visits to their camps by international organizations that they could not identify. None of the 60 names of any visit by Amnesty International or the International Committee of the Red Cross, A Red Cross official in Bangkok said that the "ICRC is not involved in visiting re-education camps in Vietnam" but that "negotiations" with the Vietnamese government were going on.

According to an embassy report, one of the largest camps — described by 10 refugees — is the Tan Hiep camp in Dong Nai province. It was said to hold approximately 6,000 prisoners, mostly former officers up to the rank of colonel.

According to the refugees, prisoners accused of "careless talk" or other violations of camp rules frequently are beaten and shackled in metal containers and are left to lie in the sun without water. The containers, called connex boxes, are about the size of a large refrigerator and were used for shipping U.S. equipment.

The camp itself consists of about 25 concrete buildings with tin roofs surrounded by multiple barbed-wire fences and a mine field, the refugees told the interviewers. Watchtowers were manned by guards armed with machine guns, and searchlights were used at night to discourage escape attempts, the accounts said.

The site, near Bien Hoa north of Ho Chi Minh City, formerly known as Saigon, was once used by the South Vietnamese government to hold North Vietnamese Army prisoners, the U.S. report said.

Brutal Beatings Reported

Refugees reported being tied in a painful position for a long period, and sometimes being brutally beaten, according to a U.S. official in Bangkok, former U.S. prisoners of war have reported the same punishments by the North Vietnamese.

Former prisoners at the Tan Hiep camp said that at Christmas 1978, 400 inmates staged a demonstration against camp authorities, according to a U.S. report. The report said the prisoners were subsequently tortured and sent to Chi Hoa prison in Ho Chi Minh City.

The refugees also reported that two South Vietnamese former military officers who had tried to escape were shot after a one-hour trial and that others were slain while attempting to flee.

But Huu Nghia, a suspected resistance leader in the camp, died after being shackled for three months, and Nguyen Thanh Long, a former captain, committed suicide after being beaten and shackled inside a connex box, the refugees said.

At the Cat Camp in Hai Giang province near the village of An Thanh Nhut, two former inmates reported, guards shackled Nguyen

Van Tich, a Roman Catholic priest, for four months and 10 days for having tried to teach English to other prisoners.

The refugees said that other forms of punishment included reduction of rations and being locked in cages. They said guards sometimes tortured or shot prisoners caught trying to escape.

Widespread Malnutrition

According to the U.S. Embassy reports, the former prisoners also spoke of widespread illness and malnutrition in the camps because of insufficient food and medicine.

Former inmates of the Ben Gia camp in Chu Long province said 50 percent of the prisoners had malaria and that diets consisted of 300 grams (10½ ounces) of rice a day, supplemented by sorghum and sweet potato. When available, meat, fish and salt were provided in tiny rations.

Although indoctrination sessions were routine when the camps were first opened, refugees reported that now there is little actual "re-education."

"The term 're-education camps' now in reality is a misnomer," said a U.S. diplomat who has conducted scores of interviews with refugees. "They're labor camps."

In Laos, the indoctrination function seems to have been preserved to a greater extent, according to the accounts of former inmates. Mr. Bouasy recounted that after doing hard labor during the day, the prisoners at his camp in northern Laos had to attend daily "political training" sessions.

"Every day they told us not to believe in capitalist government, to believe only in communism," he said. "They told us the United States is the enemy No. 1 in the world, and that the communist system would never end."

Another Lao refugee, Kamtan Naiwan, who arrived at the Nong Khai camp in February, said he was accused of being a U.S. Central Intelligence agent because he had worked for the U.S. Agency for International Development.

'The term "re-education camps" now in reality is a misnomer,' said a U.S. diplomat who has interviewed scores of refugees. 'They're labor camps.'

ment before Laos had been taken over. He recalled political "re-education" sessions in which communist cadres told the prisoners that Thailand was an enemy and would eventually have to be "liberated."

Although apparently eligible under U.S. criteria for resettlement in the United States, Mr. Kamtan and many other Lao and Vietnamese have become victims of a Thai policy of discouraging refugees from coming here by declaring them ineligible for resettlement abroad and detaining them in austere camps for indefinite periods.

Some U.S. officials regard the policy as unjust, but concede that it has worked to discourage refugees. The number of Lao refugees arriving in Thailand has dropped sharply from last year, and arrivals of Vietnamese by boat and overland are down, too.

As part of the policy, Thailand has closed the Nong Khai camp to new arrivals and ordered inmates moved to a detention center at Ban Na Phie in eastern Thailand that is off limits to most visitors.

For those who fled from their homelands anyway after their release or escape from re-education camps, the situation has been especially frustrating.

"We came from prison in Laos and they put us in prison here," said Dec Senesouvan, a former lieutenant colonel in the Lao Army who said he had spent five years and seven months in a re-education camp. Interviewed in a part of the Nong Khai camp fenced off by barbed wire and guarded by Thai soldiers, Mr. Dec said that he and his fellow inmates faced uncertainty.

"We have no chance to go to a third country, and no chance to go back and fight," he said.



Officials lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier as part of the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the

founding of the Soviet state. Despite appearances of unity, the Communist rallying calls of old no longer have the same force.

Communist World's 'Fraternal Parties' Often Speak With a Hundred Voices

By Serge Schmemmann

New York Times Service

MOSCOW — There was a time when such words as "revisionism" or "opportunism" levied at Tito or Mao sent shudders through the world of communism.

Emerging from the Kremlin, the bastion of Marxism-Leninism, the capital of the first socialist state, they amounted to a threat of excommunication from the ranks of history's vanguard.

Nowadays, revisionism, opportunism and the other swearwords of intra-Communist bickering fly freely from Moscow, Beijing, the capitals of Eurocommunism and 100-odd other Communist parties with little evident impact.

To Western ears, disputes over Marxist dogma evoke images of ideologues of the 1920s and 1930s and seem to have little relevance to the ailing economies and aging communist oligarchies of today.

But disputes over doctrine can be critical in a disparate movement whose ideology purports to be scientific and universal. Just as debates over theological shadings masked great divisions in medieval history, disputes over dogma often have been critical tests for Moscow. Even the sharpest disputes among "fraternal parties" are often concealed behind rituals of public unity.

Thus, only the Albanians were conspicuously absent from Leonid I. Brezhnev's funeral, although they were invited. And party chiefs took precedence over government leaders, enabling G. H. U. of the Communist Party leader, to meet Yuri V. Andropov before Vice President George Bush.

The Communist Party leaders returned Dec. 20 to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Soviet state. But behind such appearances of unity the picture is far different. Even Marxist rallying cries such as "proletarian internationalism" and "dictatorship of the proletariat" have been effectively dropped from communist lexicons outside the Soviet bloc.

Party leaders in Western Europe now routinely denounce Moscow for its actions in Afghanistan or Poland. The Spanish Communists have even questioned whether the Soviet Union is a socialist state at all.

Since World War II, the Russians have fought a plodding rear-guard action against independent-minded parties. They have used force when necessary, as in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and threats, barter and reluctant retreats where force could not prevail — as in Western Europe, Yugoslavia and Romania.

During 60 years in power, Lenin and his heirs have remained consistently intolerant, purging old Bolsheviks, repressing dissidents, keeping iron control over information, suppressing independent workers in Poland.

The Kremlin rulers' claim to legitimacy rests largely on their pretensions as successors to Lenin and Lenin, sole arbiters of the "science" of Marxism-Leninism and ordained keepers of orthodoxy. When Enrico Berlinguer of the Italian party asserts that "dictatorship of the proletariat" is obsolete, Soviet legitimacy is seriously undermined.

Then there is the Soviet obsession with security. From this comes the unspoken tenet that the first duty of every foreign party is not necessarily revolution, or the interest of the working class but the security and strength of the Soviet state.

Moscow's simple credo is: You're either with us, totally, or with the imperialists. The position was dramatically applied against Solidarity in Poland and in the furious flailings at the Italian Communists when they reached for "historical compromise" with those in power.

But for all its ardor, Moscow's struggle to maintain control has been inept, marked by bungled efforts to manipulate conferences and to influence independent parties and unwavering refusal to adapt to change. Even its victories have often proved Pyrrhic.

Thus, to win Western support against China, Moscow allowed a measure of autonomy that sowed the seeds of Eurocommunism. Suppression of reform in Czechoslovakia and Poland forced Western parties to dissociate themselves from the Kremlin simply to maintain credibility. And Mr. Brezhnev's long struggle to bring parties together for a European summit in 1976 only resulted in even greater independence for the Eurocommunists.

Instead of the resounding endorsement of Kremlin primacy that Mr. Brezhnev's lieutenants had hoped in orchestrate, the Yugoslavs, Romanians, Italians and Spanish succeeded in deleting any special status for the Soviet party from the final document. Adding insult to injury, they then dissipated even in sign it.

Moscow has been on the defensive ever since. The Kremlin's proconsuls in the movement — Boris N. Ponomarev for nonbloc parties and Konstantin V. Ruskov for the Warsaw Pact allies — have been reduced from influential bearers of the true word to harried defenders of the Soviet system and policies, especially in Afghanistan and Poland.

How Mr. Andropov intends to assert Moscow's role in world communism is so far unclear. In his most recent ideological address, eight months before he came to power, he said that Marxism-Leninism was "invariant of a third."

stagnation," but he also assailed any form of political "pluralism" and insisted that, while some adaptation of socialism to local conditions was fine, "its essence is one."

Evidence is accumulating that Mr. Andropov intends to retain the role of senior ideologue, a function Mr. Brezhnev left to Mikhail A. Suslov, even though Mr. Suslov's office was officially given to Konstantin U. Chernenko, Mr. Andropov's defeated rival for power.

The issue is not whether Mr. Andropov will bring world communism under Moscow's suzerainty, but whether he will recognize that the movement has become as varied and fickle as the number of parties in it and is likely to become more so. French Communists and Italian Communists are likely to remain as different from each other as Frenchmen and Italians, and even Finland's tiny community of Communists has split.

In the Soviet bloc, differences have become pronounced. Poland's party has effectively disintegrated; Romania's party is as Stalinist at home as it is independent abroad; the Hungarians have swapped ideological fealty to Moscow for a measure of economic freedom, Fidel Castro of Cuba, often depicted in the West as Moscow's hired gun, entertains pretensions to an independent role among so-called "progressive" nations.

Mr. Andropov may bow to reality and formally recognize the separate identities of the many parties, a move that could restore at least a semblance of surface unity. Moscow's opening to China, if it leads to reconciliation, could give powerful impetus to healing other rifts. But the centrifugal forces remain formidable, especially against reconstitution of anything resembling the Comintern disbanded by Stalin at the start of World War II.

Russia's perception of anyone outside its orbit as threatening is unlikely to wane. And the Western European parties are not likely to feel drawn toward Moscow as long as Stalinism remains an unexpunged legacy of Soviet communism and the Soviet economy continues to provide an eloquent witness against the efficacy of the Soviet system.

ASIA

In Asia, too, Communist parties take a broad range of stands, governed more by national than party interests.

The cautious improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations has begun on a state-to-state, rather than party, basis. Beijing has signaled, by its warm reception of French Communists, that it is prepared to normalize relations with pro-Soviet parties.

But the Chinese are adamant against interference from Moscow. They have been zig-zagging toward ideological and governmental reform with no concern for Moscow's view.

China's requirements for rapprochement concern security issues — Vietnamese militiamen, Soviet troops in Afghanistan, Mongolia and the Chinese-Soviet border.

Relations among Asian Communists and their attitudes to Moscow have developed along geopolitical lines. The crisscross of fears outweighs common ideology or revolutionary solidarity.

China helped North Vietnam fight France and the United States, but later the two countries had a brief war of their own. Hostility is intense. Hanoi struggles close to Moscow as protector against Beijing, and Vietnamese leaders worry that they might lose out in a Chinese-Soviet reconciliation. China also supports Cambodian rebels even anti-Communist, against Vietnam's expansionism.

North Korea, which had extensive help from both Moscow and Beijing during its U.S. war, now tilts toward Beijing. Unlike Vietnam, North Korea's regime welcomes a Chinese-Soviet thaw in hopes that together they may again support Pyongyang's ambition to take over South Korea.

Japan's Communist Party, which has 450,000 members is the third largest in the capitalist world after Italy and France, is neutralist and pacifist. It rejects both Moscow and Beijing as tutors.

MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA

Like so much in the Middle East, the Communist role there is a murky matter.

The legal Israeli party, which appeals mostly to Arabs, is represented in the Knesset. It is believed to have spread its influence in the West Bank, but it is not always easy to tell whether support is for Communists or for leftist factions of the Palestine Liberation Organization or whether the difference is significant.

P.L.O. relations with Moscow appear more opportunistic than comradeship, and there are constant subtle shifts.

The Kremlin's Arab connections rely more on arms supplies than on Communist solidarity. Syria has good relations with Moscow through its Baath military regime.

Iran's have cooled. Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi leader, has executed Communists on charges of plotting with Syria against him. Mr. Hussein is also annoyed with Moscow, which he suspects of tilting to Iran in the Iraq-Iran war. Even before the war, Iraq tried to diversify its

weapons suppliers and open contacts with Washington, largely through its banker, Saudi Arabia.

Apart from Afghanistan's beleaguered puppet regime, the most important Middle Eastern Communist Party is the Tudeh in Iran. Headquartered in East Berlin when the shah drove it underground, it remains close to Moscow. Tudeh sprang back to life with Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's revolution. Despite the obvious anomaly of creeds, it quickly portrayed itself as ultra-Islamic, complete with beards and prayer rugs.

Iranian Communists with modern educations are more attuned to office work than mullahs and are said to have made considerable headway in penetrating government ministries. The mullahs are as anti-Soviet as they are anti-American, but Moscow may hope to establish surrogate power in Iran through the Tudeh in the Khomeini regime begins to crumble.

Communist influence in Africa is less opaque but no more predictable. Soviet support for anti-colonial wars brought important lies for Moscow, but Marxist regimes are not necessarily under the Kremlin's thumb. The rule is one-party states, and Soviet-style trappings do not reveal the relative roles of communism and other tendencies. If the communists are organized separately, they keep it secret.

In South Africa, the Communist Party has been illegal for well over a generation, although the South African government makes it sound important with allegations that it dominates the African National Congress. But apartheid, not Moscow's inspiration, appears to be the main source of recruits for the black nationalists.

LATIN AMERICA

Moscow has also had a long tradition of involvement with Latin American Communists. Until the 1959 Cuban revolution, the parties were small and loyal to Moscow. Most of the official Communist parties remain ineffective, often harshly persecuted; none of them has succeeded in becoming the springboard of revolution.

Meanwhile, other bolder groups, sometimes in alliance with non-Marxists, have swollen guerrilla movements.

In the 1960s, Moscow and Havana disagreed sharply over Cuban activism, and Havana, not Moscow, became the beacon of revolution. Ernesto (Che) Guevara's failure in Bolivia in 1967 brought Fidel Castro to some restraint in the region, but Cuba continued to support and train revolutionaries of various hues while the Kremlin recognized only official Communist parties.

But after the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979 broke again that armed struggle could succeed in Latin America where Moscow-line political action had not, the Soviet and Cuban support for the Sandinistas in Nicaragua was a tail who has the will and occasional capacity to wag the dog.

The Mexican Communist Party, now legal, entered its leader, Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo, in the presidential race. With the backing of four tiny Marxist groups, he won 3.5 percent of the vote. The Mexican party seeks respectability and eschews local guerrillas. Cuba, eager for Mexican friendship, also has ignored the guerrillas there.

Some of the most virulently anti-Communist countries, notably Argentina and Brazil, have developed important trade with the Soviet Union. Moscow's political instincts in Latin America have seemed ton conservative for local revolutionary tastes.

In Chile, the one Latin country whose Communist leadership is still based in Moscow, the local underground is unhappy with the Soviet line. For example, Chilean Communists find it hard to distinguish between Poland's General Wojciech Jaruzelski and Chile's strongman, Augusto Pinochet. Exiles are impressed with the Spanish example — emergence from dictatorship and the eventual election of democratic Socialists.

The Castro revolution has weakened orthodox Communist parties. Cuban revolutionary militancy and ability to win power without Moscow's direction have great appeal for Latin Marxists. The Russians may be the indirect providers of money and arms, but Castro, not Brezhnev or Andropov, is the father figure.

If Cuba acts as surrogate for the Russians in Angola or Ethiopia, that is Fidel Castro's choice and Moscow would stand to lose almost as much as he if it cut him off for insubordination. He reportedly advised Nicaragua's Sandinistas against becoming dependent on Moscow.

Thus, Soviet success in helping foreign Communists to power has weakened Moscow's grip on the world movement and has made support for communism abroad vastly more expensive. Soviet state interests, the extension of historical Russian interests, can no longer be easily blurred with an international revolutionary credo. More and more, Moscow must rely on traditional power and diplomacy. The appeal to comradeship no longer commands automatic obedience.

Quick and Nimble Brains and Tongues

At School for Interpreters and Translators, the Combination Is de Rigueur

By Harry Trimborn

Los Angeles Times Service

GENEVA — A diplomat taking part in an international conference suddenly realized that he had taken the wrong position in debate, sought to recover by telling his opponent that the interpreter "has misrepresented your views."

The remark brought smiles all around, for no interpreter was involved. The debate was being conducted in the diplomat's own language.

Recalling the incident, Ronald Williams smiled, too. "The interpreter is always to blame," he said.

Mr. Williams is president of the School of Translation and Interpretation at Geneva University, which is ranked among the best in the field, and he knows about the hazards that interpreters face.

Despite the hazards, increasing numbers of men and women are becoming interpreters and translators, and many of them are either trained in Geneva or go there to work.

The Universal Language

Even though English has become virtually the universal language of diplomats and leaders in government, science and industry, many people prefer to use their own language in preparing sensitive speeches and reports, Mr. Williams said. Thus, it appears that the need for interpreters and translators will continue.

There is no shortage of applicants. Mr. Williams said he got about 300 applications a year from all over the world for the three- and four-year programs, but he said he accepted only about 100.

"We have a few Americans," Mr. Williams said, and added that some of them turned out to be among the best despite the lack of emphasis on foreign-language training in the United States.

Mr. Williams said most interpreters and translators were free-lancers. "They can accept

or reject a job as they wish," he said, "and that gives them a great deal of freedom."

Charmaine Robinson, 22, who is studying here under a scholarship from her government in Trinidad, said the work was especially suitable for women. Giglio Giarre, 23, an Italian, agreed. "If I get married and have children, I can do translations at home in my spare time," she said.

Another attraction is the opportunity for

Despite the hazards, more men and women are becoming interpreters and translators, and many of them are either trained in Geneva or go there to work.

free foreign travel. International conferences are often held in resort areas.

Competent interpreters and translators need not skimp on their budgets. Interpreters can earn as much as \$160 for a seven-and-a-half-hour day, but because of the strain involved they usually put in only about half that time, alternating half an hour of work with half an hour of rest.

A good interpreter, Mr. Williams said, "needs to work only about six months out of the year to earn a decent living."

He said that there was a considerable difference between interpreting and translating, and that they called for different abilities and mental attitudes.

"Simultaneous interpreters must have a quick and nimble brain," he said. "They must have a tremendous amount of nervous energy to keep up the pace. It really is exhausting work."

"If you are slow and methodical, if that's the way your brain works, you do not become a simultaneous interpreter," Mr. Williams said. "You are better off being a translator."

The translator's job requires greater language proficiency than the interpreter's, he said. "An interpreter can often get away with an approximation of what a speaker is saying, especially if the speaker's words or phrases sound awkward or embarrassing if translated literally."

The language demands on translators are much greater. "When they translate a book or a report, translators must be precise and grammatically correct," Mr. Williams said. Once they have turned in their work, it is there for all to see and judge. That is why we insist that they constantly improve their passive languages."

These, he explained, are languages other than one's native language. He said his students were taught to interpret or translate from these passive languages into their native language.

He said that students "come here thinking they can manipulate such languages like a native. But they do not have the feeling you get for a language learned in childhood and the formative years."

The school admits only students whose native language is German, English, French, Spanish, Italian or Arabic. Students must also have a good knowledge of two passive languages.

"We encourage them to work on a third passive language," Mr. Williams said, "because if they don't they will not stand much of a chance of getting a good job. The Common Market, for example, expects you to have two passive languages and a pretty good knowledge of a third."

ARTS / LEISURE

London Stage Is Falling Up

By Sheridan Morley

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — A year that saw the arrival of the Royal Shakespeare Company at the Barbican, major new plays from Pinter and Stoppard and the storming of Broadway with "Cats" and "Good" can hardly be described as a disastrous one for the British theater in general. Yet 1982 also saw a moment in early October when 12 London playhouses were dark, with four actually for sale, the permanent loss of Riverside Studios, which had operated continuously world theater seasons of a kind long since abandoned by the RSC, and the demise of the Talk of the Town and the Astoria as cabaret theaters.

It also saw an American (James Nederlander) buy the Aldwych and a Canadian (Edwin Mirvish) buy the Old Vic. It saw theater budgets being slashed all over the country as Arts Council grants failed to keep pace with inflation, and it saw an increasingly desperate determination in the commercial West End to rely on old stars and even older musicals to keep theaters open.

By my reckoning, in London alone, 286 shows opened this year, some in the repertoires of the two big culture palaces run by the National and the RSC, some in the pits and clubs and a few even in the West End. Some were making a little money. Michael Frayn's classic backstage farce, "Noises Off," is probably earning a lot, as doubtless still is the New York import about deaf liberation, "Children of a Lesser God." But others have to play at least a year to get their money back in the commercial theater, and many are not going to get it back even then.

On the credit side, this has been the year of Pinter's superb triple bill, "Other Places," of Stoppard's mythical and therefore hugely underrated "Real Thing," of Jonathan Miller's stunning theatrical farewell with the Anton Lesser "Hamlet" and the English National Opera's "Rigoletto" (far and away the best musical in town). For New York it has also been the year (at the Royal Court) of Terry Johnson's intriguing "Insignificance," and for performances it has been the year of Joss Ackland's Falstaff, Judi Dench's amazingly youthful Lady Bracknell, Michael Gambon's King Lear at Stratford and Anna Massey and Yvonne Bryceland in Edward Bond's (also much underrated) "Summer."

It was also the year when Barry Humphries in his Dame Edna drag managed to turn Drury Lane into a musical parlor of the human spirit, bestowing like some manic Mother Teresa a compulsory bar upon selected unfortunates from the audience who had already forfeited their shoes and ready for their dignity in an evening. There even Elizabeth Taylor in "The Little Foxes" seem almost credible by comparison.

The major holiday treat of this December is a new opera for children by Charles Strouse, the Broadway composer of "Annie," which also happens to be back in the West End. "Nightingale," at the Lyric Hammersmith, is all his own work and, with the exception of perhaps a few dozen words, is totally sung.

The story is the Hans Christian Andersen tale of the emperor who releases a pet bird from its cage because, in the words of the show's best song, "a singer has to be free." The nightingale later returns to the emperor from death. In Peter James's colorful production the show rests pleasantly on a conscious element of an amateur end-of-term school show.

Before his Broadway triumphs started, with "Bye Bye Birdie" 22 years ago, Strouse studied under Aaron Copland and Nadia Boulanger and there's no doubt that "Nightingale" is his bid to return to a higher form of the stage musical; it is in many ways comparable to a similar attempt made by Stephen Sondheim with "Pacific Overtures" and on first hearing some of the music here is equally unimpressed.

But if it is unlikely that a hit song will emerge from the score, it is also unlikely that there has been since the Rice-Webber "Joseph" a show so perfectly pitched as an adult Christmas present. I have to say that my three children were fractionally disappointed, having perhaps expected another moppet show of "Annie's" ilk.

This one is distinctly more up-market, elegant and ambitious. It is cast largely with singers from English opera companies, and therefore is expertly sung. The book is somewhat thin, but for that we have only Anderson to blame, while the performances, notably of Sarah Brightman as the nightingale and Gordon Sandison as the emperor, are tilted sensibly if not at Covent Garden then at the very least toward Sadler's Wells or the London Coliseum.

Though this lightest of operas is unlikely to take Broadway by storm, it should have a long life around schools and colleges as well as small-stage theaters looking for an elegant alternative to seasonal pantomime. The score will take some getting used to, which is why I eagerly await the issue in March of the long-playing record.

Sheridan Morley is going on vacation. He will resume his column in February.



Simone Valère, Jean Desailly star in Ustinov's "Teach."

A Shade of Beethoven

By Thomas Quinn Curris

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — By curious chance, Peter Ustinov's latest play, "Beethoven's Teeth," is having its world premiere in Paris, in French translation.

Ustinov, as Sacha Guity and Noel Coward before him and Motil before that, often writes his principal roles for his own interpretation. He did so in this case, but a film commitment intervened and he has been obliged to postpone the London opening, in which he will appear as old Ludwig transposed to a contemporary setting. Thus, the newest product of his indomitable pen is first to be heard in Yves Vario's adaptation at the Théâtre de la Madeleine.

The author-actor tends increasingly to sketch his situations and characters lightly. Consider the fanciful premise here. Beethoven is summoned from the shades to spend a few days in the home of a modern English music critic. (The materialization is evoked by the cry of a Viennese au pair girl residing in the London household.) The bewildered genius is fitted out with a hearing aid so that he can listen to his own creations. However, like the returned Goethe of the Friedell-Polgar cabaret skit, he would find an examination about his work. He only dimly recalls his immortal symphonies, confuses Schubert and Weber, is astonished by rock and a chance visit to a disco inferno. He is no ghost — having been restored to the flesh — and he has an omnivorous appetite. Further, his stay in the beyond has not softened his gruff candor. As a houseguest he is a problem.

All this is amusing, but it does not constitute a satisfactory full-length evening. Many of the contrasts are cleverly conveyed, lively operas are bandaged and there is a sprinkling of wit here and there, but the material would be twice as sharp and pointed if half as long.

Bernard Fresson is a bulky Beethoven, earnest and hardworking, but without Ustinov's caricatured aristocracy. There is an excellent characterization by Jean Desailly as the touchy music critic and a beguiling one by Simone Valère as his wife, a sweet-voiced singer. The others suffice, though Isabelle Gellinas, whose shriek brings Beethoven back from the dead, might pipe down after that achievement. The staging is in need of acceleration, the director, Philippe Rondet, having paced it so lethargically that it seems to be in slow motion.

Claude Mauriac, son of the Nobel Prize-winning novelist François Mauriac and a novelist and a critic himself, makes his theatrical debut with a miniature drama, "Le Cirque," in which the awkward-rig clowning, acrobatics, freaks, jugglers, trapeze artists and members of the menagerie cavort and reveal their secrets. The playlet has originality and witful charm, and Nicholas Bataille has mounted it with engaging zest at the tiny Théâtre de la Huchette with Jacques Noël's decor and costumes as assets.

A large segment of the youthful French public prefers the Rabelaisian to the romantic, which accounts for the phenomenal success that "Vive les Femmes!" is enjoying at the Gaîté-Montparnasse. This trash entertainment is the work of the popular cartoonist Roger and the advertising poster, a collector's item, speaks volumes. It discloses a tousled-haired brunette in a polka-dotted dress, a cigarette dangling from her lips, pinching the backside of a big-nosed, delighted idiot. There is an almost obsessive accent on the scatological. Sex, too, receives mention, though bathroom humor dominates. The round Maurice Risch is the ringmaster of the proceedings. The rougher language, the louder the laughs. Its popularity is such that it will soon move to a larger theater to accommodate the demand for seats.

'Tis the Season for Forgiving

By Glenn Collins

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — In a surprising number of places ranging from dinner parties to lines in stores, an equally surprising number of people seem to be pondering the "turn-the-other-cheek" aspects of the movie "Gandhi." Maybe it has something to do with the forgive-and-forget feeling that overwhelms everyone as a new year approaches. Or perhaps it's a testament to the legacy of the man and to the film that tells Gandhi's story.

Much of the talk involves questions that are deeply perplexing, though hardly new — things like whether and how it is possible to forgive one's enemies, or whether, as Martin Luther King said, it is possible to "conquer with love." In an eye-for-an-eye world, isn't vengeance appropriate? Gandhi's message is unequivocal: "If everyone took an eye for an eye, the whole world would be blind."

To a victim of battered-wife syndrome, advice to turn the other cheek seems a bit ludicrous," said Doris Donnelly, a visiting lecturer at Princeton Theological Seminary in New Jersey. "But ultimately, when that battered wife is out of danger, at some point she's going to have to address the question of forgiveness — or hang onto her outrage for the rest of her life."

"Schiller said that 'hate is a prolonged form of love,'" Donnelly said. In "The Human Condition," she added, Hannah Arendt wrote that "without forgiveness, our capacity to act would, as it were, be confined to one single deed from which we could never recover."

Donnelly has been writing and teaching in the field of reconciliation for a decade, and she believes that the concept of forgiveness has had something of an image problem. "People think that it's weakness. There is an etiquette that says: 'Don't forgive. Show your strength by your toughness in never forgiving.'"

She believes, however, that much of what people usually describe as reconciliation is "false forgiveness."

"It's easy to fake a reconciliation and our language enshrines the idea in phrases like 'kiss and make up.' We're programmed to bypass real forgiveness among people and nations. A peace treaty is the same. Forget that 'you bombed our nephews and hurt our people; sign a treaty and all will be forgiven. But they really mean, 'How can we pretend we're reconciled?' It's easy to sign a peace treaty or shake hands. It's not easy to forgive."

What characterizes real forgiveness, and not the unreal kind? "It's when you can feel at peace with it."

It's when you can remember the event, or the person, and your stomach no longer churns. Forgiveness is a process, a gradual thing. Many people forget that time is essential to the equation."

However, Susan Jacoby, a New York writer who has been working for five years on a study of revenge from a psychological, legal, historical and religious standpoint, said: "There are some things that perhaps ought not to be forgiven. I don't know many concentration-camp survivors who have forgiven their guards."

She added: "Forgiving your enemies is always easier when you've done something about what they did to you. There is nothing wrong with making someone pay — but

do you keep going on doing it forever?"

But retribution, if inappropriate to the offense, may spark a vicious circle of revenge oversteering, be it between people or nations. "That's where law and international treaties are important," said Jacoby. "Even if you take a cynical view of human nature, it is still possible to find a zone of detachment that may enable us not to murder each other."

Donnelly said the power of modern weaponry makes these questions of more than hypothetical interest, and gives a film like "Gandhi" an eerie timeliness. She noted, "There is an old proverb that goes, 'The person who pursues revenge should dig two graves.'"

Al Haig and Canapes

By Charlotte Curtis

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Alexander M. Haig Jr., in a dinner jacket and a tan acquired on a recent trip to Israel, was at an elaborate holiday dinner and in a deliciously good mood. Life has been interesting, he said, since he so precipitously left the State Department last summer. He likes the Hudson Institute, think tank, his speech-making and whatever he does at United Technologies.

It has come out that President Ronald Reagan fired Haig, but the precise reason and sequence of events is hazy, and Haig has done little to clarify matters. The mystery adds a certain glamour to a dispirited, enigmatic man who has never revealed the details of his relationship with former President Richard M. Nixon and Watergate. He was an intriguing guest of honor who charmed, even dazzled, New Yorkers who politely lined up to be introduced.

"He's not so terrifying," said Jacqueline Brynner, Yul Brynner's wife, and he is very bright."

Mrs. Brynner, the TV newsman Mike Wallace, Time magazine editor Henry A. Holt and the gossip columnist Aileen ("Sassy Says") Mehlre and former Attorney General Benjamin R. Civiletti were among those at Haig's table. Almost immediately, Grunwald and Haig got into a discussion of the new Soviet leader, Yuri V. Andropov, and U.S.-Soviet relations.

"I can tell you this," Haig said in his amused way. "It isn't going to matter that Andropov likes American jazz."

The Russians and the MX missile went with the fish course. Haig, famous for speaking impeccable jargon, defended the MX in perfect English. He was not much

for the "dense pack," he said, preferring instead the shuttle railway basting.

"I do not believe in criticizing the president," he said during cocktails. Yet, like all passionate politicians, he criticizes indirectly simply by stating his own views positively. The shuttle railway basting, for instance, was President Jimmy Carter's proposal for the MX.

Over the pork with wild rice, apricots and prunes, Civiletti raised the hope that Senator John Glenn would be the Democrats' 1984 presidential candidate — which may be what prompted Haig to utter something about Walter Mondale's chances, causing Mehlre to hoot with laughter. "Luce had once asked her to ask Mondale why he dropped out of the 1976 presidential race. 'He said he didn't have the stomach for it,' Mehlre said. 'He said running for president just wasn't something he wanted to do.'"

Haig said Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel was still upset with Reagan, and somebody remembered the Awar Sadat funeral trip that united former President Nixon, Carter and Gerald R. Ford on the flight to Egypt.

"There was only one state room," Haig said. "So, being a diplomat, I took it. There were plenty of jobs but Carter wanted to use mine. I finally locked the door on him."

Before he and his wife left, he let it drop that he was about to visit the White House. He also denied again that he would run for president.

How can anyone disbelieve those blue eyes? Wallace teased. Very amused. His debut on New York's party circuit was a success.

Rep.-Elect Jack Swigert Dies; Was Apollo Pilot

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
WASHINGTON — Representative-elect Jack Swigert, 51, of Colorado, who circled the moon in 1970 as commander of the aborted Apollo-13 space mission, died Monday night of complications resulting from cancer.

Mr. Swigert, who also served with the support crews of the Apollo-7 and Apollo-11 missions, was a Republican elected Nov. 2 to

represent Colorado's new 6th Congressional District. He was to have been sworn in next Monday.

Before the November election, Mr. Swigert announced that his doctors had diagnosed his condition as bone marrow cancer. The cancer later spread to Mr. Swigert's lungs, his doctors said. He had been hospitalized in Washington since Dec. 19. An aide said respiratory failure was the immediate cause of death.

Mr. Swigert was the pilot of the Apollo-13 moon-landing mission, which was aborted while in lunar orbit on April 13, 1970, after an oxygen tank in the rear of the command capsule exploded. The blast cut off the capsule's electrical power, water and oxygen supplies and threatened to maroon Mr. Swigert and two other astronauts in space. Three days and a half days later, the three brought the crippled ship home to a heroes' welcome.

After Mr. Swigert's last chemotherapy treatment, which followed the November general election, he developed complications and was hospitalized in Denver.

Other deaths: Vitaly Darselisa, 25, a star midfielder on the Soviet team at the 1982 World Cup soccer championship, in an automobile crash in the Soviet state of Georgia, date undisclosed.



Jack Swigert

Max Böhm, 67, a cabaret artist and actor who was Austria's first radio quiz-master in the postwar years and once one of his country's leading stage actors, Sunday in his Vienna home, apparently of a heart attack.

Yukio Hasegawa, 75, Japanese ambassador to Laos from 1961 to 1964 and to Morocco from 1966 to 1970, Tuesday of gall bladder cancer at the Hiratsuka Hospital in Tokyo.

Death of Aragon Opens Questions About His Politics

By Robert R. Rutter

PARIS, — Louis Aragon, who was one of France's major literary figures, received a solemn public funeral from the Communist Party Tuesday amid a tug of war over his political and literary testament.

Mr. Aragon was still a member of the French party's Central Committee when he died Friday at 85. An estimated 10,000 people attended his funeral in the square outside the Communist Party's Paris headquarters and heard the party leader, Georges Marchais, say that Mr. Aragon was "a genius of creation who belonged inflexibly to the party."

Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, a Socialist, said in his funeral tribute: "The fidelity of an entire life demands that we should not forget the writer at the expense of the party militant. He was both in life and remains both in death."

Jeanine Verdes-Leroux, a historian, wrote in the leftist daily Liberation: "While others justly recall Aragon's sparkling gifts, we must also remember the betrayals, the abandonments, the acts of cowardice in his public life. No veil can be drawn over his strident Stalinism, his support for socialist art and the worst examples of official Soviet literature when some Soviet writers were being insulted and banned and reduced to silence and misery."

In Zambia, Animism Troubles the Church

By Alan Cowell

New York Times Service

LUSAKA, Zambia — This is the land where David Livingstone lies buried and where, too, the great evangelical effort of the Scottish missionary and his peers has stamped itself on a nation once steeped in Africa's animism.

Three of every four of Zambia's six million people profess adherence to one Christian church or another, and Dr. Livingstone is still venerated in the town named after him, at the Victoria Falls on the Zambezi River, and in the modest shrine to the north where he is finally succumbed to disease, thousands of miles from home.

But these days the legacy of the early evangelists is tainted by schisms and debates among their successors. The divisions opened in April when Zambia's first black archbishop, Emmanuel Milingo, was named to Rome for what the Vatican called "theological studies and quiet reflection." Rome also ordered him to undergo a medical examination.

His departure from Lusaka was the culmination of four years of controversy over the archbishop's faith-healing sessions, his casting out of devils, and reports of his speaking in "tongues" during exorcism ceremonies.

Some priests referred to the clergyman's activities as "mumbo jumbo" and sorcery, but the interpretation of his recall among the black laity was that the archbishop had fallen victim to Rome's refusal to fully Africanize the church in a manner that Zambians would perceive as suitable to their needs but that, in the eyes of orthodox Catholics, might be perceived as a blending of the church rites with those of animism.

The anger of Zambian Catholics mounted with reports that the archbishop had been held incommunicado by the Vatican and with Rome's refusal thus far to make a full statement about the reasons for the archbishop's return to Rome or about his future in the church.

Archbishop Milingo has made no secret of his desire to see the Church of Rome modified to accommodate African feeling. "The inferiority complex which haunts Africa is a perpetual humiliation which has come about by the historical colonialism in politics, economics and religion," he wrote in his book "Demarcations."

"Till today, Africa is still judged through the colors of other people's glasses," he said. "To convince me that I can only be a full Christian when I shall be well brought up in European civilization and culture is to force me to change my nature. If God made a

mistake by creating me an African, it is not yet evident."

And in an interview published in London, the archbishop said: "The attitude of Africa is not so much to do away with all that is Western, but to tell Europe that we also have some values and inheritance that the Lord has given us. Anyone who is going to misinterpret the search for identity and authenticity of the Africans as racism, as discriminatory, is just being prejudiced."

Yet racism has crept into the debate with publication here of a report to the Vatican by two white priests charging improper behavior by the archbishop in his faith-healing sessions. The archbishop has denied the accusations.

The problem, said Gabriel Chifwambwa, editor of The National Mirror, an economic newspaper, is that there are few African priests because of Rome's old African rules, and so the church is still dominated by foreigners.

Although several of Zambia's nine bishops are Africans, he said, the majority of the 150 priests in the Lusaka archdiocese are white missionaries seen by some members of the laity as symbols of orthodox resistance to Africanization.

What is required, Mr. Chifwambwa said, is an acknowledgment by the church of African culture, which sets great store by the creation of a family and records no status to the celibate. Such change in Rome's thinking seems out of the question.

The debate is not restricted to Zambia and, in many parts of Africa, the church seems embroiled in a phenomenon common to those who conquer, only to find themselves slowly being assimilated into the manners of the conquered. Thus, in Zaire for instance, a churchgoer can see a Belgian clergyman, clad in a cap of monkey skins, leading acolytes who carry spears along with the cross and who equate the Christian saints with the ancestral spirits of animism.

A British consultant living in Zambia discovered the depths of traditional superstitions recently when, on returning from vacation, he found that his house had been ransacked by burglars. Invoking techniques ancient and modern, the consultant called in the police and a witch doctor, who came to his home, brewed a magical potion and insisted that the consultant's domestic staff be present during the rites that drew their strength and power from the spirits.

Most of the staff went along with the idea, but one man, a night guard, became uneasy and wavered, substantiating, spiritually, the police detective's assertion that the crime had been an inside job.

Rare Sea Turtles Being Killed by Plastic Waste

The Associated Press

NEWPORT, Rhode Island — Endangered giant leatherback sea turtles are killing themselves by eating discarded plastic bags they mistake for jellyfish, scientists and environmentalists say.

"Autopsies of leatherbacks have revealed stomachs and intestines blocked by plastic sandwich bags, potato chip bags, trash bags and other plastic items," said Robert C. Schoelkopf, director of the Marine Mammal Stranding Center in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

The International Center for Endangered Species here and a team of scientists have been capturing, labeling and tracking the turtles off Rhode Island for the past two summers. Leatherback turtles, so named for a mosaic of small bones imbedded in thick, leathery skin that forms a flexible shell, are among the largest existing reptiles. They can grow to more than 6 feet (1.8 meters),

N.Y. Police Widen 43-Month Search For Missing Boy

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — After new clues were discovered this month, the police assigned eight detectives to work full time on the case of Etan Patz, a youth who disappeared three and a half years ago in Lower Manhattan.

The search for the boy, who was 6 when he disappeared, was apparently at an impasse when police officials said a photograph and a witness were uncovered.

The police said, however, that a possible witness had refused to be questioned about how he obtained a photograph believed to resemble the child. The witness, David Groat, 28, of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, was arrested Dec. 3 in Wareham, Massachusetts, on a charge of sexually abusing a minor.

Mr. Groat was arrested in a house that Massachusetts law enforcement officials said was used by a chapter of the North American Man-Boy Love Association. The Wareham police said the photograph resembling Etan Patz was in a scrapbook in Mr. Groat's possession. Etan's parents, Stanley and Julie Patz, have said they were uncertain if the boy in the photograph was their son.

American Sikh Fights For a Place in Army

By Joy Horowitz

Los Angeles Times Service

LOS ANGELES — As a modern-day warrior, he does not drink, does not smoke, does not eat meat and dresses in white — all symbols of purity. Piled on his head and tied in a knot beneath a white turban, his long hair is wrapped around a small sword.

His religion, the Sikh faith with its 500-year history of warriors and martyrs, exalts the sword and a "righteous path." So while he rises each day at 3 A.M. to pray and practice yoga, he is also an expert marksman.

The son of a retired Marine Corps officer, he has changed the name his father gave him 25 years ago from Clark Alan Harris to Gursant Singh Khalsa.

But, he says, the values his father transmitted to him of "serving God and country" have not changed; nor has his dream of becoming an officer in the U.S. Army.

There is one problem, however. The U.S. Army will not have him unless he gets rid of his turban, cuts his hair, shaves his long, reddish-brown beard and stops wearing his steel bracelet, a Sikh reminder that one's strength of purpose will be tested.

That would be a disavowal of his religion, Mr. Khalsa said, sitting in the Sikh storeroom headquarters in West Los Angeles. "It's religious discrimination."

After 24 years of permitting followers of the Sikh religion to wear articles of faith, the army decided last year to abolish its dress code exemptions for Sikhs and not to accept any more enlistees of the religion, whose nine million adherents include soldiers in the Indian, British and Canadian armies.

So Mr. Khalsa was turned down when he tried to enlist at a recruiting office in Los Angeles last month. Sikhs across the country demonstrated to show their disapproval, and Mr. Khalsa petitioned the army to reconsider the policy change on the ground that it violated his constitutional rights.

An army spokesman in Washington said Mr. Khalsa's petition should be decided "in the next couple of weeks."

"I think it really is silly the government is prosecuting people who won't register, and here they won't let me in when I'm committed to serving my country," said Mr. Khalsa, an office supplies salesman.

What the army wants, according to a spokesman in Washington, Major George Stinnett, is to be both fair and consistent in enforcing its appearance standards.

"Permitting exceptions for just one group — here, the Sikhs — would be discriminatory," he said, adding that to grant exceptions to all groups would affect "safety, discipline, health and morale."

Major Stinnett said the army's policy change was the result of requests last year from Moslems, Hasidic Jews and American Indians for exceptions to dress code regulations. The tighter new dress rules do not apply to the 15 Sikhs already in the army, he said.

When appearance exceptions were established for members of the Sikh faith in 1958, they applied only to draftees, not enlistees. In 1974, the army policy was expanded to permit all members of Sikh religion as well as members of other religious groups to be eligible for exceptions on a case-by-case basis.

Chemical warfare is the primary reason for the 1981 policy change, Major Stinnett said. He said tests showed that facial hair prevented an effective seal of a gas mask.

Mr. Khalsa contends that government documents he received through the Freedom of Information Act indicate otherwise.

Major Stinnett also suggested that "unsanitary hair can present a problem of personal hygiene because certain field conditions are not conducive to washing your hair everyday."

He added that turbans could could get "caught in barbed wire during basic training exercises."

The Sikhs point to an article that appeared in May in India-West, a California-based newspaper, about a Sikh soldier, Sergeant Kimbir Grewal.

The article said that Sergeant Grewal, who is stationed in West Germany, took his physical training test — push-ups, sit-ups and a two-mile (3.2-kilometer) run — while wearing his chemical suit, protective mask and hood. He completed the two-mile run in the fastest time in his regiment, all with his mask and hood intact.

Sikhism was founded in the 15th century in northern India by the first of 10 "gurus," as the religion's teachers were called. In the 1600s, the 10th guru transformed the Sikhs into a militant brotherhood as a way of survival.

Closer to Christianity than to either the Hindu or Moslem faith, Sikhism is a minority religion in India. Sikhs believe in one God. They are noted for physical prowess and hard work.

"We are a peaceful people," Mr. Khalsa said. "I voted for the nuclear freeze. But it's not a conflict to stand for peace and promote defense as well."

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Machine of the Year

"There are some occasions," states TIME this week, "when the most significant force in a year's news is not a single individual but a process, and a widespread recognition by a whole society that this process is changing the course of all other processes."

That is why, after weighing the ebb and flow of events around the world, TIME has decided that 1982 is the year of the computer.

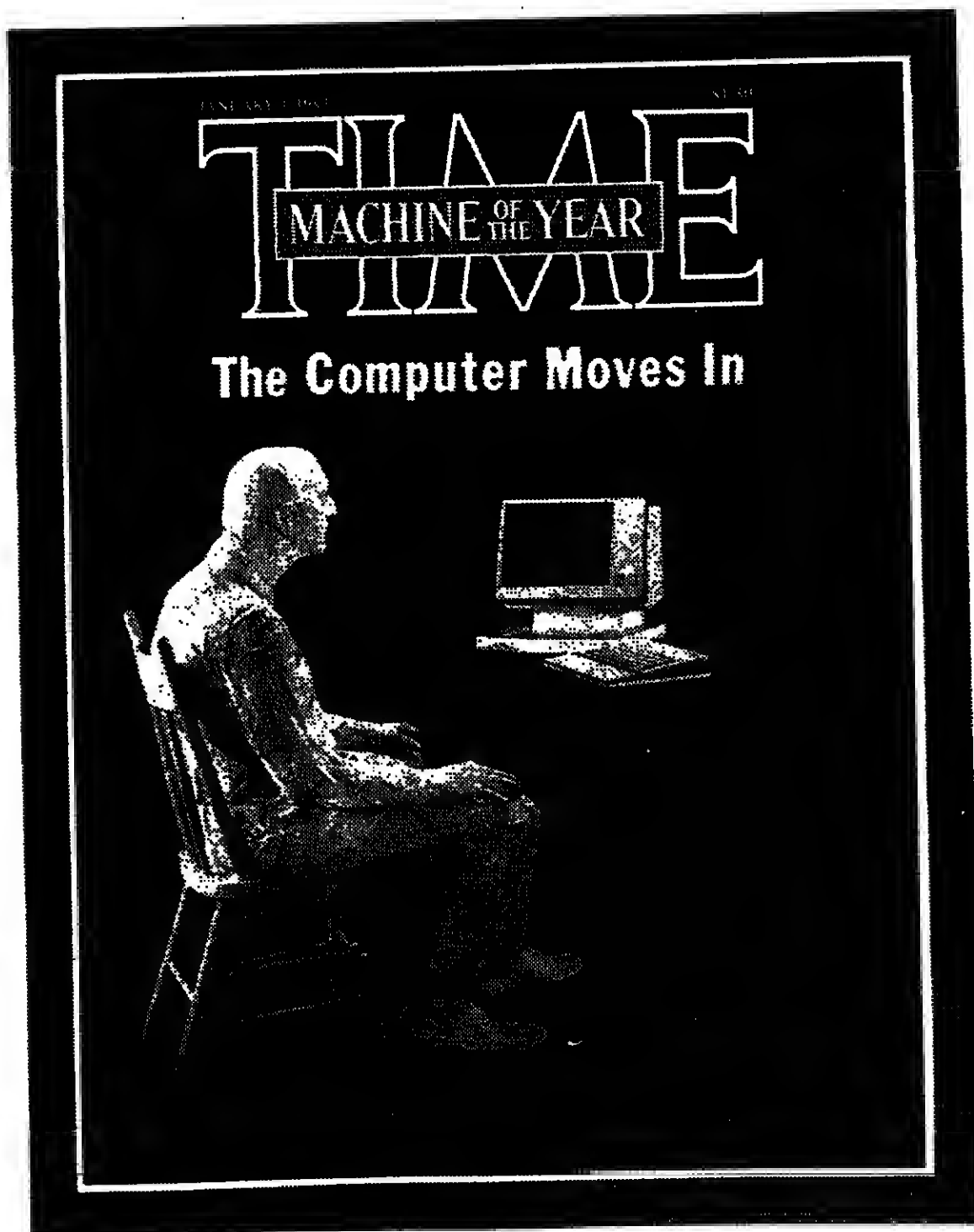
This was the year in which the computer literally forced its way into America's social consciousness. The sales figures were awesome. The "information revolution" that futurists have long predicted has arrived, bringing with it the promise of dramatic changes in the way people live and work, perhaps even in the way they think. America will never be the same. In a larger perspective, the entire world will never be the same.

In a striking departure, a machine—not a man, woman or group of individuals—graces the cover of TIME's annual Man of the Year issue.

TIME's first Man of the Year was Charles Lindbergh—the "Lone Eagle," a hero chosen perhaps in part because his accomplishment in 1927 was without benefit of supportive technology.

Such is the magnitude of the changes the world has undergone, and that TIME has witnessed every week since its founding six decades ago.

This week's issue, *The Machine of the Year*, is indicative of TIME's continuing responsiveness to the story of change as the magazine enters its 60th year of publication. And indicative, also, of the kind of journalism that attracts nearly 30 million men and women around the world every week.



French Set for U.S. TGV

PARIS — France has agreed to sell its high-speed train, the TGV, to the United States. The deal, announced today, is part of a larger agreement between the two countries to develop a transatlantic rail line.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1982

INVESTOR NOTEBOOK

By STEVE LOHR

Stronger Yen, Declining Rates Expected to Push Tokyo Shares

This is the last in a series of articles dealing with the outlook for stocks in 1983.

TOKYO — The Tokyo Stock Exchange has taken off in recent weeks, driven higher by a stronger yen, the prospect of lower interest rates and the belief that the strong but stagnant Japanese economy may be heading for a gradual recovery.

Tokyo share prices soared Tuesday morning to an all-time high of 3,042.83 on the Nikkei Dow Jones index, before retreating in profit-taking to close at 3,016.67, still a gain of 1.60 on the day. Since the beginning of October, the value of the 225 issues included in the index has increased almost 17 percent, with nearly 10 percent of the advance coming since Oct. 28.

Most analysts predict that despite fluctuations prices should continue to rise gradually, gaining perhaps another 10 percent over the next year. The volume of trading has also picked up considerably in recent weeks. For instance, 480 million shares changed hands in Monday's full session and Tuesday's final session of the year was only half a day with volume of about 400 million.

Several months ago, 225 million shares was a normal day's trading. A major reason for the pickup in trading and prices has been the return to Tokyo of foreign investors, especially large U.S. private pension funds analysts say.

After being net sellers for the first half of 1982, foreign investors became net buyers of Japanese securities in September. There were big jumps in October and November, with foreigners becoming net purchasers of an estimated \$1 billion worth of Japanese stocks in October and of \$1.22 billion worth in November.

The recent appreciation of the yen against the U.S. dollar has lured many U.S. institutional investors into the Japanese market. Since Oct. 29, the yen has increased its value more than 15 percent against the dollar, closing Tuesday in Tokyo at 235.50 yen to the dollar.

By purchasing Japanese stocks when the yen is strengthening, the foreign investor can gain not only from any increase in share prices but also from the appreciation of the yen. Of course, if the yen weakens and stock prices fall, the same process works in reverse, thus doubling the potential loss.

A firm's yen will help the Japanese stock market only up to a certain point. Up to 220 yen to the dollar, the trend will be a positive factor for the Japanese market as a whole, according to Takayuki Nakajima, a senior economist at Daiwa Securities.

But should the yen strengthen beyond 220 to the dollar, it would hurt the market. Mr. Nakajima explained, because then the currency's value would make Japanese exports more expensive and less competitive in foreign markets.

Lower Rates Expected

Another force for optimism in the Tokyo market has been the expectation that the government will soon lower interest rates. With the yen stronger and U.S. interest rates declining, many analysts believe the Japanese central bank can now afford to lower rates to help stimulate the economy.

Corporate earnings in Japan are particularly sensitive to interest rate movements because most Japanese companies are highly leveraged. On average, a Japanese company's source of outside capital is about 85 percent debt and 15 percent equity.

Consumer electronics companies have done well in the recent market advance. For example, since late October the share price of TDK, a producer of video and audio recorders, has added about 17 percent, and Matsushita Electric's shares have increased 14 percent.

With rumors of rate cuts swirling, some interest rate-sensitive issues, such as trading companies and consumer credit firms, have been strong performers. If the economy strengthens, the basic industry stocks, such as Nippon Steel, should do well, analysts say. In fact, Nippon Steel shares have added 12 percent since the beginning of October.

But if the stock market surge indicates anything about Japan's economic fundamentals, it seems to be more that the economy has bottomed out and the likely trajectory is upward, not that a robust recovery is assured around the corner.

The movement on the Tokyo market still tends to be a faint echo of what happened the evening before on Wall Street. And the economic recovery in Japan, as elsewhere, depends greatly on the United States.

"The U.S. economy will be a key consideration in determining how well the Tokyo market will do in the near future," said Zenichi Ishikawa, deputy general manager of institutional research at Daiwa.

The New York Times

10 Nations Set Talks On IMF

Reuters

PARIS — Finance ministers of the so-called Group of 10 major industrial nations will meet in Paris Jan. 18 for what sources say will be further talks on plans to expand funding for the International Monetary Fund.

Sources in Paris said Tuesday that the full ministerial meeting will be preceded by a meeting of deputy finance ministers on Jan. 17, probably in Brussels. They gave no indication of the meetings' agendas.

But official sources in Tokyo said the ministers will discuss increasing the contributions of member countries to the IMF, a reduction of interest rates and urgent lending to help Latin American countries overcome their debt problems.

The group consists of the United States, the Netherlands, Japan, Canada, West Germany, France, Britain, Italy, Belgium and Sweden.

The Japanese sources also said a possible increase in funds available in a special IMF facility called the General Arrangements Borrowing (GAB) would probably be on the agenda. In addition, the GAB, used by the Group of 10 for lending among its own members, may be opened up to allow lending in all IMF members.

French Finance Minister Jacques Delors, current Group of 10 chairman, recently had preliminary talks with Saudi Arabia on IMF quotas, which news reports have said may involve a \$3-billion Saudi contribution to the GAB.

Further talks are expected early next year between the Saudis and British Chancellor of the Exchequer Geoffrey Howe, chairman of the IMF Interim Committee, and IMF Managing Director Jacques de Larosiere.

Moves to involve the Saudis in a contribution to the GAB run parallel to other plans for an increase of between 40 percent and 60 percent in IMF quotas to strengthen the organization's strained liquidity position, and to increase GAB funds to \$20 billion from \$6.1 billion.

Efforts are under way to speed up a final decision on IMF quotas by bringing forward the next IMF Interim Committee meeting in Washington in Feb. 11 from April 24.

Meanwhile, Japanese banking sources said Tuesday that an international credit-risk information body, tentatively called the International Banking Institute, is likely to be established in Washington early in 1983.

Nearly 1,000 banks are expected to join the organization, which is being promoted by a committee of 11 U.S., West European and Japanese banks and headed by Chase Manhattan, they said.

Jaime Mosquera Castro, below, president of the Banco del Estado.



Felix Correa Maya, above, head of the Banco Nacional.

Bank Scandal Jolts Bogotá

By Warren Hoge

New York Times Service

BOGOTÁ — Colombia's financial life and its reputation for conservative money management have been shaken by a series of scandals that have forced the liquidation of one bank, the emergency nationalization of another and the jailing of a state governor and more than a dozen top officials of financial institutions.

In one case, 37,000 investors lost an estimated \$33 million. In another, 24,000 individuals and 26 foreign banks are awaiting word from bank examiners on the whereabouts of \$150 million.

The development has involved some of Colombia's most prestigious financial institutions, whose steel-and-glass headquarters offices along Bogotá's Seventh Avenue drew prominence only in the Andean slopes at the city's edge. "The uncertainty has become such that the slightest rumor can

cause a run on any of them," an American business analyst here said.

It has also further eroded Colombia's capacity to borrow abroad at a time when economic crises in Argentina and Mexico have diminished the disposition of foreign banks to lend to any Latin American nation. Although Colombia has the best debt profile in Latin America, the spreads on short-term loans it has recently negotiated have risen to one-half a percentage point above the London interbank rate.

President Belisario Betancur, an outspoken populist who took office four months ago, has accused the implicated financiers of "playing with the people's money."

On Oct. 8, he declared a 24-hour emergency to put into effect new lending limitations. He also

(Continued on Page 11, Col. 1)

Fed Confirms Policy Committee Voted to Ease Monetary Stance

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The Federal Reserve System, clearly concerned about continuing weakness in the economy, voted last month to accept growth in M-2 and M-3 at rates slower than the 9.5 percent set for the September-December period would be "acceptable and desirable" only if the slow-down were "associated with declining interest rates."

Still faster monetary growth would be tolerated "if continuing economic and financial uncertainties should appear to be reflected in exceptional liquidity demands."

The Federal Reserve figures released Monday showed that its M-

1 measure of currency and checking accounts had increased \$600 million in the week ended Dec. 15, to a weekly average of \$480.3 billion. This was consistent with the pattern of rapid growth in M-1 that has been evident for several months.

In the four weeks ended Dec. 15, M-1 averaged \$477.6 billion, which represented a 17.2 percent compound annual rate of increase from its average of \$458.9 billion three months earlier. In the last six months, M-1 has increased at an annual rate of 11.2 percent, while over the last year it has risen 8.9 percent.

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N.Y. Stock Prices Slip From Record In Profit-Taking

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — Wall Street stock prices pulled back Tuesday from the record level reached Monday as profit-taking pushed blue chip issues lower in light trading.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which soared 25.48 points in an all-time high of 1,070.55 Monday, closed off 11.66 points at 1,058.87. It had been ahead about two points at the outset.

The Dow, which broke the old record of 1,065.49 set Nov. 3, has climbed 80.30 points over the past six sessions and 297.63 points since hitting a 27-month low of 776.92 on Aug. 12.

Declines led advances 216-691 among the 1,904 NYSE issues traded, and the volume was 38.6 million, compared with 62.9 million Monday.

"The market doesn't look that good," said Harry Laubscher, market analyst for Paine Webber. He said Monday's rally was centered mainly in highly capitalized stocks held in institutional portfolios and it was these same issues that carried the market lower Tuesday.

The session was delayed 35 minutes to the first hour of trading by a fire at the New York Stock Exchange and marred at the outset by a computer problem that temporarily delayed transmission of information.

Because of the fire delay, it was difficult to determine a major trend to the market, which had been marked by Monday by considerable buying in blue-chip and lower-priced basic industry stocks.

"In light of those big gains, it is not surprising for the market to pull back," said Harry Villac of Dean Witter Reynolds. "I still think this market is going to finish the week with a bang."

Asked to explain the sudden explosive rise Monday afternoon, A. Marshall Acuff Jr., a portfolio strategist at Smith Barney, Harris Upham & Co., said: "There had been a lot of talk lately about the market going down. When it didn't happen Monday, the buyers suddenly came in. It's the sort of self-reinforcing phenomenon we've been seeing."

Eugene Peroni, technical analyst for Wedbush, Noble, Cooke of Los Angeles, said the rally should continue through the week and into

1983. "I think we can go through some minor backing-and-forth," he said. "But this week should see a very traditional rally. It's a very enjoyable time."

But other analysts were skeptical of Monday's rally because the Dow average far outpaced the rest of the market. Other averages still were below their all-time highs.

Chase Manhattan, the nation's third largest bank, cut its prime lending rate to a two-year low of 11 percent from the prevailing 11 1/4 percent rate. But no other major bank followed the lead.

Analysts noted the federal funds rate banks charge one another for overnight loans rose at the outset even though the Federal Reserve revealed it had voted in November to lower the target for the interbank rate to a range of 6-10 percent from 7-10 1/2 percent the previous month.

The Fed also reported late Monday the nation's money supply rose \$600 million in the latest statistical week. The board indicated because of new money funds it plans to pay less attention than before to weekly movements in the supply.

Analysts said it will take signs the economy is improving in addition to lower interest rates to move the market substantially higher.

The government is slated to report on its index of leading economic indicators on Friday, the last day of the year.

On the NYSE floor, blue-chip American Telephone & Telegraph was off 3/8 to 39 1/2 following a 2-point jump Monday. Analysts say AT&T will benefit from the FCC's compensation ruling on telephone rates when AT&T divests its operating units.

Warner Communications, a 14-point loser Monday, was active and up 1 1/4 to 29 1/2. Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis is resigning to become head of Warner Amex Cable Communications.

SAINT-GOBAIN

Jean-Jacques Faust has been appointed General Delegate of Saint-Gobain Group for Brazil and Argentina. He took office on November 1st. In this new capacity, he replaces Jean Ricomard.

Japanese Trade Surplus Plunges As Current Account Posts Deficit

United Press International

TOKYO — Japan's merchandise trade surplus, a constant target of criticism by the United States and Europe, fell sharply in November to \$292 million from \$1.69 billion in October, the government reported Tuesday.

The current account, a broader measure of trade performance that includes services and certain unilateral transfers, swung into a \$293-million deficit after a \$1.43-billion surplus in October.

Officials at the Finance Ministry said the major factors in the sharp current-account reversal were increased payments of interest, dividends and royalties to foreign entities, coupled with decreased returns from overseas investments.

Foreigners have been heavy buyers of Japanese securities recently. The official estimate that Japan's current-account surplus for the whole of 1982 would reach a \$7.5 billion. The surplus for the first 11 months came to \$6.8 billion, they said.

The decline in the trade surplus comes as the yen is steadily strengthening, a trend that undercuts the competitiveness of Japanese goods on world markets.

U.S. Assesses Trade Move

U.S. officials in Tokyo say Japan's latest package of tariff cuts has some symbolic value in easing trade tensions, but will have little impact on the country's huge trade surpluses with the United States and Europe. The Associated Press reported.

Japan acted independently, on its own initiative, "a U.S. Embassy official who requested anonymity last said of the measures approved Friday by the Japanese cabinet. "Real actions like these deserve some credit."

But the tariff package is seen as a move to ease trade tensions, but will have little impact on the country's huge trade surpluses with the United States and Europe. The Associated Press reported.

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barriers which have effectively kept a wide variety of foreign products out of Japan.

Analyzing the Japanese plan, the U.S. official said even a sizable cut in tobacco tariffs, from 35 percent to 20 percent, may not necessarily mean an increase in foreign sales in the huge Japanese market for cigarettes because "there are so many other variables."

The U.S. share of Japan's government-controlled tobacco market is only 1.4 percent, and "an awful lot depends on the rules" in determining whether U.S. sales improve, the U.S. official said. The rules include quotas on the percentage of foreign products retail distributors may sell.

He said the package's provision for slashing duties on chocolate from 31.9 percent to 20 percent was "quite important" in the U.S. market, but the significance of other elements cannot be assessed without careful study.

Japanese officials are concerned with whether the measures will blunt criticisms of Japan's trading policies during Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's mid-January visit to Washington.

U.S. Ambassador to Japan Mike Mansfield told Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe on Monday that the measures would be a major factor in the battle against rising protectionism in the United States and Europe.

But with unemployment soaring in the rest of the industrialized world, and Japan's 1981 trade surplus of \$16 billion with the United States and \$12 billion with the European Community expected to rise this year, pressures to shut out Japanese goods are likely to persist.

When Mr. Nakasone took over as head of Japan's conservative government on Nov. 27 he ordered swift steps in ease trade friction, which has had extreme resistance in his rural-conservative-based Liberal Democratic Party.

On Jan. 13 the government will decide formally on further non-tariff steps, such as relaxing testing procedures, to demonstrate what it calls the openness of Japan's markets.

Abe to Tour Europe

Reuters reported from Tokyo that Mr. Abe will visit five West European countries next week to ease trade friction. The foreign ministry said the trip will take him to Belgium, Britain, France, West Germany and Italy.

Mr. Abe, in meetings with French President Francois Mitterrand, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and other leaders is expected to seek their understanding of Japan's efforts to open its market to foreign goods, ministry sources said.

CURRENCY RATES

Interbank exchange rates for Dec. 28, excluding bank service charges.

	\$	£	D.M.	¥	₹	₧	₡	₦	₦	₦
Amsterdam	2.22	4.22	11.69	31.17	131.81	21.29	21.29	21.29	21.29	21.29
Brussels (cl)	46.51	75.24	19.67	6.94	2,410.8	17.765	23.27	5.97	28.37	28.37
Frankfurt	2.24	3.83	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
London (cl)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Paris	1,346.8	2,371.78	25.19	26.84	—	22.20	28.37	16.47	—	—
New York	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Milan	6,700	1,421	1,421	1,421	—	—	—	—	—	—
Zurich	1,993	3,207	34.15	29.70	—	1.14	75.94	4,270	—	—
1 BCU	0.9716	3,207	34.15	29.70	—	1.14	75.94	4,270	—	—
1 BCU	1,350.8	1,350.8	2,412	2,412	—	2,412	2,412	2,412	—	—

Dollar Values

	Per U.S.	Per U.S.	Per U.S.	Per U.S.	Per U.S.	Per U.S.	Per U.S.	Per U.S.	Per U.S.	Per U.S.
Swiss	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Australian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Canadian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
French	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
German	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Italian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Japanese	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Spanish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Swedish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Swiss	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thai	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
U.S.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
West German	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Yen	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

1 Swiss Franc = 1.3508 U.S. Dollars. 1 Australian Dollar = 0.7263 U.S. Dollars. 1 Canadian Dollar = 0.7106 U.S. Dollars. 1 French Franc = 6.5596 U.S. Cents. 1 German Mark = 0.3636 U.S. Dollars. 1 Italian Lira = 20.3606 U.S. Cents. 1 Japanese Yen = 0.00708 U.S. Dollars. 1 Spanish Peseta = 0.0206 U.S. Cents. 1 Swedish Krona = 0.1366 U.S. Dollars. 1 Swiss Franc = 1.3508 U.S. Dollars. 1 Thai Baht = 0.025 U.S. Dollars. 1 U.S. Dollar = 1 U.S. Dollar. 1 West German Mark = 0.3636 U.S. Dollars. 1 Yen = 0.00708 U.S. Dollars.

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Outside views. Inside information.

CROSSWORD

Crossword puzzle grid with clues for Across and Down.

WEATHER

Table with 4 columns: City, High, Low, and Forecast. Lists weather for various cities like ALABAMA, ALASKA, AMSTERDAM, etc.

ADVERTISEMENT INTERNATIONAL FUNDS

Table listing various international funds with columns for fund name, share price, and other details.

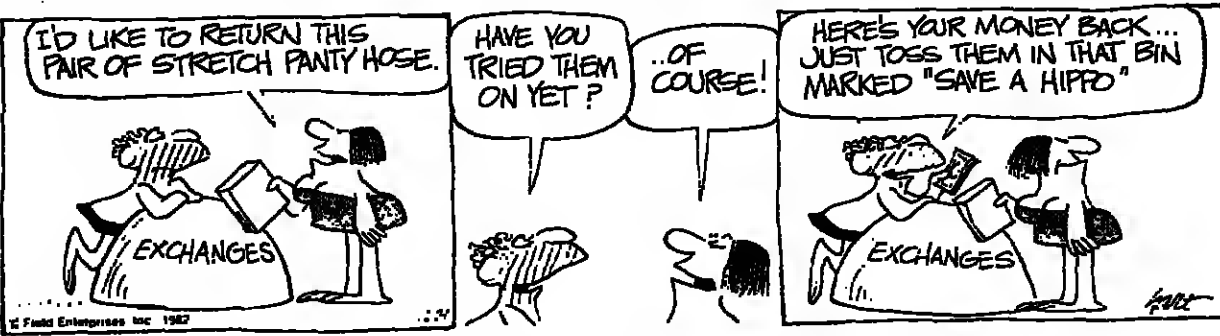
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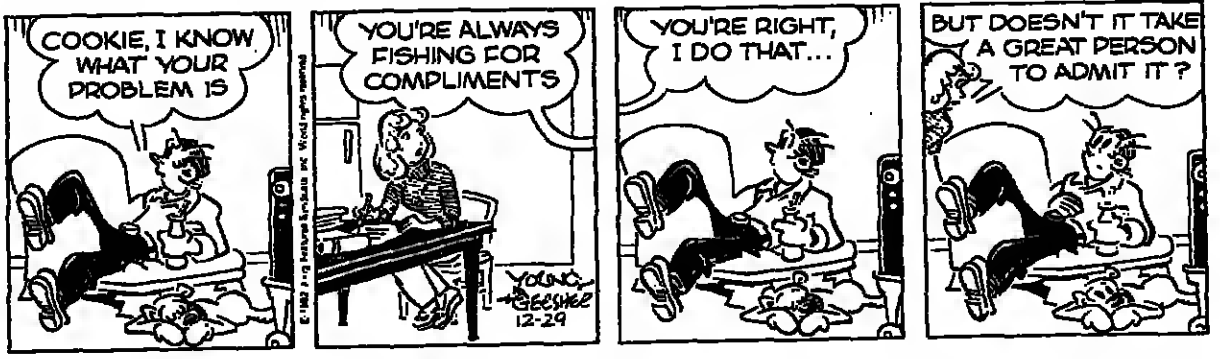
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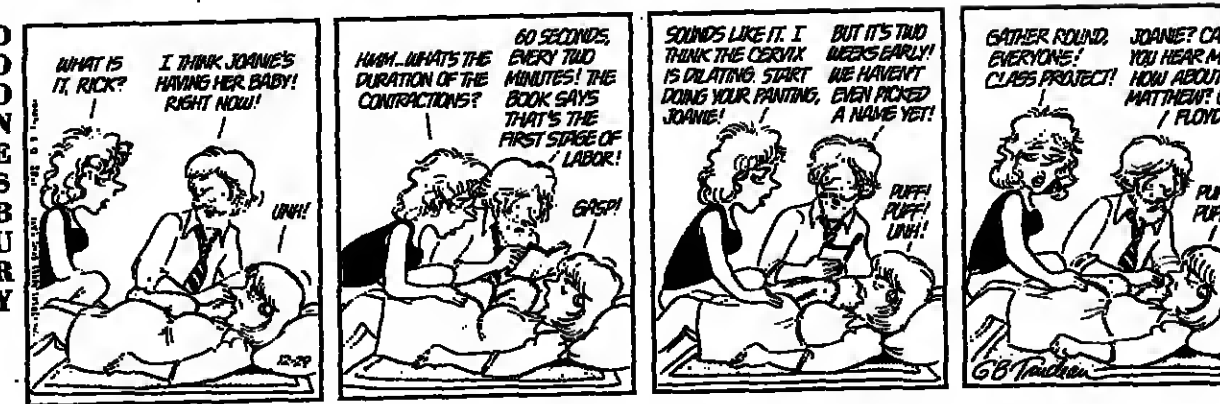
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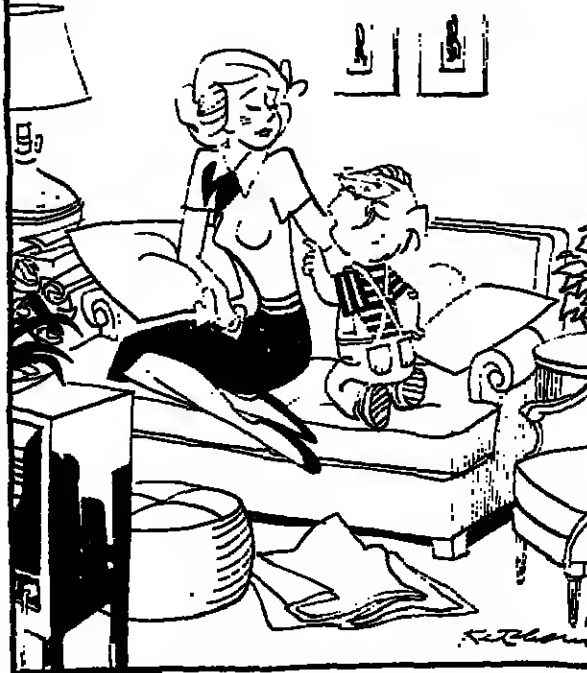
DONESBURY



JUMBLE THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME

Jumble word game section with a grid of letters and instructions.

DENNIS THE MENACE



BOOKS

QUEEN BEE

By Eugene Kennedy. 330 pp. \$17.95. Doubleday, Garden City, New York, N.Y. 11530.

Reviewed by Anne Chamberlin. WE READ of captains of industry who seek refuge in the cloister from the bowing vacuum of success. Eugene Kennedy, once a Catholic priest but now married and a professor of psychology at Loyola University in Chicago, is part of the traffic that's headed the other way. Among his 25 books is a biography of Richard J. Daley, the late Chicago mayor, which may help account for the rich supply of city hall insights so exuberantly displayed in this latest work.

At first glance, she has a disarming directness that briefly leads you to suppose she will be swept to the throne in one of those sweet triumphs of party over corruption. You soon realize she has all the innocence of a cobra. Her gradual transformation, as the addictive juices of power begin to course through her veins and obliterate those vague twinges that once passed for decent instincts, turns out to be far more absorbing than you might expect.

Allderman Sam Noto, from a West Side ward, "felt comfortable in artificial fibers and they matched his spirit and style very well." Ann Marie's cousin, the "sleek and knowing" Monsignor Morgan Fitzmaurice, became vicar general of the Archdiocese of Chicago after a career of running Catholic cemeteries.

Solution to Previous Puzzle

Table with 10 columns and 10 rows containing the solution to a previous puzzle.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott. MANY years ago the great English player-writer Skid Simon made a very important point: One should try for the best result possible, and not the best possible result. Simon was thinking of the problems that arise with a weak partner who will not understand scientific bids aimed at determining the ideal contract. But his statement can be applied in a different way, and there was a most unusual application of it on the diagrammed deal.

Table showing North and South hands with cards and suits.

Table showing West and East hands with cards and suits.

